

# STRANGEST ADVENTVRE THAT EVER HAPPENED: EITHER In the ages passed or present.

*Containing a discourse concerning the successe of the King of  
Portugall Don Sebastian, from the time of his voyage into  
Africke, when he was slain in the battell against the in-  
fidels, in the yeare 1578. unto the first of  
January this present 1601.*

In which Discourse, by diuerse curious histories, former antient  
Prophecies, and other matters, whereby most evidently appea-  
reth: that the Duke of Venice hath held as priuile-  
ge for the last two yeeres and twene two dayes, in the  
right and trucking of Portugall Don Sebastian.

More, a Letter that declareth, in what manner he was ferat libere the 17<sup>th</sup>  
December last. And beside, how he parted from thence, and  
came to Florence.

*All first done in Spanish, then in French, and now lastly translated  
into English.*

PSAL. CXVII.

By the Lord is thuring done: and it is miraculous in our eyes.



LONDON,

Printed for Frances Henson dwelling  
in the Black-Friars.

1601.

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# TO THE RIGHT

HONORABLE, VVILLIAM RI-

der, Lord Maior of this famous Citie of Lon-


don, and to all the rest of the worshipfull Senatours and Al-

dermen his brethren : particularly by name, as bound by some

*faouours, Sir Stephen Soame knight, M. Iohn Garrard*

*Alderman, with the two worshipfull Sheriffes, M.*

*Gambell and M. Crauen.*



He translation of this straunge and  
admirable discourse (right Hono-  
rable and right Worshipfull) being  
committed to my trust, and I fin-  
ding it in the French to bee com-  
mended from Venice, to the most  
Christian King of France, as a mat-  
ter of truth and absolute assurance : lest in his English  
attire he should wander vnregarded through the world  
I was the bolder (in loue and humble dutie to you  
generall) to make your names and titles the  
nance to his free passage, the same hauing bene  
before, and sufficiently authorised : To tell you  
poore opinion of it were needlesse, because the  
sufficiently commends it selfe, and in reading it  
satisfie anie curious questioner : Onely my humble



that my boldnesse to you may be held blame-  
less, and my poore goodwill accepted but in indiffe-  
rent worth. So shal I rest yours in anie greater employ-  
ment, and remaine readie at all times with my  
verie vttermost seruice.

Your Honours and Worships  
in all dutie, A. M.



## To the Reader.

**I**N the end of the moneth of August last past (gentle Reader) I receiued a packet of Letters in the Italian tongue, wherein one was written in fauour of the king of Portugal Dom Sebastian, who was at then said to be prisoner in Venice. This letter was directed to the most Christian king, and I carried it with all possible diligence I could vse, and caused it to be delivered to his Maiestie. In the same packet there was also a further translation of the same letter; which hauing thus happened to my hands, I acquainted diuerse of my friends therewith, who made such reckoning and esteeme thereof, as it were a matter beyond all other most rare and marvellous. This letter was of such power, as it provoked and kindled in the hearts of my said friends, an extreme love and affection towards the Prince, and begot in them likewise a vehement desire, to see him in libertie and peaceable possession of his kingdom, as if themselves had bene subiects thereto belonging. So (referring that to such as were more obliged by dutie, and had more particular interest in such businesse,) after the receipt of this letter, I laboured all I might to vnderstand some tydings of his estate and successe. Having then learned, that a Religious man, of the order of the preaching Friars (named brother Ioseph Texere a Portuguese, one knowne to the greatest and meanest in Europe, as also here very well) had writtē to this Citie to a Bishop a friend of his, a discourse of matters happening since the said king began to enterprise his Africke voyage: I so much importuned a nephew to the sayd Bishop, who kept this discourse in his hands to send to his vncle, as no excuses might serue from transferring it to mine. The reading thereof was to me so pleasing and agreeable, as both it encouraged and set off all supposition of labour, in the speedie writing and copying it out. Having by this meanes this version in mine owne power, I thought I should commit an inexcusable fault, if I should reserve to my proper vse such a strange accident and worthy regard. Hereupon attending



could get convenient opportunity to the end that every one might  
with the excellent occasions contained in this discourse I concluded  
to commit it to the presse, accompanied with a letter of the sayd  
Frars, written by him since the sending of the Discourse to the same  
Bishop, and wherewith it pleased his Lordship to acquaint me. Thou  
shalt find (courteous Reader) at the beginning of this discourse, a  
translation of the letter written to his most Christian Maestie,  
which is annexed hereunto, because it contains some points that are  
of the subiect of this worke, and which deserve both to be seene and  
noted. And ere thou enter into it, be not abashed at the title we have  
given it: for so soone as thou hast but slept a litle into it, thou wilt  
thinke it to be most apt and conuenable. Now, because I would con-  
clude, I intreat thee not onely gently to make acceptance hereof: but  
to defend in all parts and places the right of a king, whom God and  
nature hath endued with infinite graces, wise, valiant, good & iust,  
though lost in a cause no lesse honorable then Christian.

Farewell. From Lyons this 30. of Iannuarie, 1601.

The





*The copie of a Letter, written by a Vene-  
tian Gentleman to his most Christian Maiesty,  
translated out of Italian into French, and out of  
French into English.*

*To the most Christian King, Henry the fourth, King  
of Fraunce and Nauarre.*



That great God, whose iudgements are alwayes diuerse and contrary to ours, disposeth and ordereth al things on earth by different meanes, not being comprehensible to our capacities: and no body but himselfe, can attaine to any certaine knowledge of their issues and effects. But as he is full of soueraigne goodnesse, of infinite wisdom, and admirable providence, he knowes how to draw good out of euill, exalting and raising vp those things, which the ignorant world takes in his imaginations with titles base and abiect. That this is most infallible, none knowes; or hath better approoued, then your most Christian Maiestie: whose enemies, bred and borne in your owne proper kingdome, being your liege people, vassals and subiects, accompanied with strange and forreine aduersaries, most vniually trauersing and persecuting you, till you obtained that whereto God and nature had ordained you. Neuerthelesse, by the assistance of the same God (albeit to further & effect the better their damnable intentions, they tooke the couerture and pretext of Religion) your Maiestie did manage those affaires with such wisdom and speed, as entring into the whole and lawfull possession of the kingdome, their owne eyes could witnesse the vanitie of their pretences, and how ill shaped the cloke was that hid their loose purposes. So that the same difficultie, which serued them as their principall obiekt to abuse the world withall, being broken and disappointed, stopt the mouth of their reasons alleaged, and wasting their forces and strength, held their noses to the ground, till they came to knowledge of their owne errors, although somewhat too late. And much more late had they bene in finding remedie, if your most Christian Maiestie (moued by your owne



kind nature and accustomed benignitie) hath not received them  
into grace and fauour. So that hence them selves may discerne,  
both what I haue before & now againe say. That the iudgements  
of God are diuerse & contrarie to mens: who seldom attaine to  
any perfect accomplishment of their plots and imaginations. Nor  
make I so long a preamble (most Christian King) to any other  
end, but to serue my selfe with that which I finde fit in my verie  
soule, as standing some way bound to speake to your Maiestie, in  
fauour of the poore and vnfortunate (neuerthelesse most happie  
one day, when God shall so please) *Dom Sebastian*, the true and  
lawfull king of Portugal. And to this attempt I bind my selfe the  
rather, through the malice of some, who for the interest of their e-  
state onely, giue it out in the world (and it may be likewise before  
your Maiestie) that he is but a sillie foolish Calabrois. Wherefore  
I intend by this my letter to make knowne to your Highnesse the  
truth of the matter, that when he shall come to the acquaintance  
of a king, a king so Christian and magnanimous as your Maiestie  
is, one not to learne what it is to suffer outragious persecutions,  
crosses and iniustices: it may be a meanes to vrge assistance to a  
poore prisoned king, who desiring this illustrious Seigneurie, to  
let him but be seene to such Portogueses as were in this Citie, for  
acknowledgement of some secret markes, which he had naturally  
charactered on his body, it might by no meanes be so permitted,  
neither he shewed to the world in any sort. At length there came  
hither a Gentleman of qualitie, a Portoguese, that brought the  
same markes proued as authentickall, vnder the hands of the pub-  
like Notaries and Peeres of Portugal: but the honorable Lords of  
this Estate were resolute not to let him see him, albeit the prisoner  
made this protestation ensuing to them: *You say, my Lords, that  
I am not Sebastian king of Portugal, let me be seene to my Portu-  
gueses, yea to all the world: and if you find that I am not such as I  
maintaine my selfe to be, let my head be smitten of.*

Vpon which words, I thought good to signifie to your most  
Christian Maiestie, some particularities touching the prisoner. He  
hath the same shape, the same hands and feete (to wit, the right  
more long then the left) he beares the same age, the same markes  
and gate, with the knees bowing inward, as *Dom Sebastian* king  
of Portugal did. Whereby of diuerse in this citie and other places  
he



he hath bene knowne: for they accompanied in his voyage to Africke, and had seene him in his kingdome: with whom discoursing, he put them in mind of sundrie particulars which they had had as then together, and were impossible that any other but the King himselfe should know. Of all which particular notes, I most humbly intreat your Maiestie to heare onely but two. There is a merchant here, who some five and twentie yeres since was wont to trade into Portugall: this man being at Lisbon before King *Sebastian* passed into Africk: mark what befell him. As he was vpon the sea shoare, stopping his shippe that had receiued a leake, he saw a farre off the King conning, making a goodly horse whereon he rid, to mount and coruet very sprightly vnder him: and he not knowing him to be the King: this beast (quoth he) what will he breake his owne necke? The King and others of the traine hearing these words, gallopped the horse so mainely toward the merchant, and made him in such a fearefull taking, as the poore man verily thought he should loose his life. But when he knew him to be the King, he fell to the ground, and weeping (on his knees) desired pardon, for he feared lest his lauish tongue might haue made him to be trussed vp. The King as he was euer full of clemencie, commaunded him to stand vp, intreating him verie honorably, and bestowing sundrie fauours vpon him.

*Sebastian* seeing the same merchant here in our citie, before he was arrested as a prisoner, demaunded of him (vnasked) if he remembered such a matter, and so acknowledging the one the other, diuerse things passed betweene them which happened at that present occasion.

Moreouer, this King (I would say this prisoner) when he was at Messina, knowing that there dwelt a gentleman of a verie famous familie, who had accompanied him in his voyage to Africke: he went and found out his house, and vpon some priuate passages betweene them, they kindly renewed their former acquaintance. Besides, since his arriual here in our citie, and before his imprisonment, he writ diuerse letters to the said gentleman, and receiued likewise letters backe againe from him. And by his expresse meanes, was a man and letters sent into Portugall, to sundrie faithfull Lords of that kingdome: but we heare that this man so sent to Portugall, died in those parts, but vnknowne how,



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after he had deliuered all or the most part of his letters. Notwith-  
standing, as afflictions and miseries alters mens minds, making  
them forget or lay aside all kindnesse and friendship: even so this  
gentleman (toucht in this case, and to become a subiect to the  
king of Castile) hearing *Sebastian* was held as a prisoner, gaue o-  
uer and left off all former acquaintanee. But I most humbly in-  
treat your Maiestie, that in this case you would not stand aloofe,  
but beholding the occurrences of this vnhappie King, & (though  
a prisoner) yet passing in such sound forme of truth, that you  
would interpose your authoritie, and manage this waighty cause  
with such diligence and dexteritie, as your Highnesse hath here-  
tofore giuen accomplishment to affaires much more hote and  
difficult, wherein you shall do a worke worthie the name of a  
godly and most Christian King, and for which, I pray the omni-  
potent Creator, to crowne your Maiestie with perpetuall glorie  
and felicitie. From Venice, this 28. of Iuly. M. D. C.

*The most humble and affectionate seruant in duty  
to your Maiestie most Christian.*

GIOVANNE CAPVGNANO.

*The*



*The Copie of a Discourse concerning the  
successe of Dom Sebastian King of Portugall,  
since he began his enterprised voyage into Affricke, vn-  
till the sixt of Ianuarie this present yeare, 1601.*

*Sent by the reuerend Father, brother Ioseph Texere  
Portugueze, to a Bishop his friend.*

More, a letter of the said Fathers to the same Bishop, wherein he  
*declares, how the Venetians deliuered out of prison the sayd*  
King of Portugall, Dom Sebastian.



O S T worthe Lord, (*post habitum benedictionem*) I receiued foure letters from your most worthe Lordship, since the end of September hitherto, with this last which was deliuered me the two and twentieth of the passed moneth, dated the fourth, and came by the way of Paris. For which, and for all the honours and graces you haue done me in them, I often kisse the hands of your sacred selfe. They will me that I should answere (as one accused) to certaine demaunds set downe therein: which, in obedience to your worthe commandement, I purpose to do, and for my better vnderstanding, as also all others whatsoeuer, the demaunds shall be set downe in order following.

*The first demaund.*

For what cause the King of Portugall *Dom Sebastian*, without leauing any heire vnto his kingdome, would put his life in hazard of losing, passing at the age of 24. yeares and a halfe into Affrick, a countrie of Infidels, and a land extreamely hot and vnfaithfull?

*The second demaund.*

What indgement I make of his life, whether he died in the battell, or saued himselfe? And what I thinke of the bodie that was buried (as his) in the church of Bethlehem, a couent of Monkes of the order of *Saint Ierome*, a league from Lisbon, in the beginning of the yeare, 1583.



*The third demand.*

Wherefore (being aliue) he would not discover himselfe? that he might be vsed like a King, and freed from so great miserie, as is well knowne the slaues in Barbarie do endure?

*The fourth demand.*

Where he hath bene all this long continuance of time? and how chance he came to Venice, & not to France or some other place: where (without doubt) he might haue receiued better entertainment, according as appertained to his condition? And whether, by my sight of him, I know him assuredly?

*The fifth demand.*

What they were that procured his libertie? What further tidings I haue of him, and whether he determine to passe any further then this citie?

*The sixth demand.*

Admit that this prisoner be the same king of Portugall *Dom Sebastian*, and that by the helpe of God, fauour of his most christian Maiestie, as also other Princes and estates of Christendome, the Seignurie of Venice do so acknowledge him: what meanes and remedies hath he to recouer his kingdomes, and to reestablishe himselfe in the possession of them?

*An answer to the first demand.*

For answer to the first demand, I say, that the principall cause which prouoked king *Sebastian* to passe into Affricke, was, (as being a very christian Prince, honorable and iust) his enflamed desire to increase christianitie, and to make the name of God knowne through the wide vniuerse. And (as after he came to the yeares of discretion) he alwayes maintained and chearished this hope: so such an apt occasion instantly offering it selfe, he did embrace it with all affection. But worthy Lord, the better to giue notice of what I intend, I must deriue my course from higher instances, discoursing of the race and successe of the later Barbarian kings: to wit, *Muley Mahamet Xarifa*, and *Muley Maluco* surnamed *Abdelmelech* (who would terme himselfe the seruant of the most high) this the vnckle, the other the nephew, yet both royall pretenders. *Muley Mahamet* (father to *Muley Hamet* the bastard, now raigning in Barbary) had three legitimate sonnes, *Muley Abdela Xarifa*, *Muley Abdelmumen*, and  
*Muley*



*Muley Abdelmelech*, otherwise called *Maluco*, of whom we now are come to make mention. This was a very wise Prince, and of mighty valour, he ioyned to his owne inheritance all the kingdomes of Barbary, and then he discretly gouerned while he liued. At point of death, he named for principall heire his eldest sonne *Muley Abdela Xarifa*: conditionally, that he should giue to histwo brothers part of his kingdomes. *Muley Abdela* succeeding thus his father, not onely denied to fulfill his commandement, but concluded vpon the death of his brethren. Who hearing thereof in the city of Miquines, where as then they kept, tooke counsell to withdraw themselues into Turkey: and so trauellling thence, after they had dispatched some hindring difficulties, within a few dayes they arriued with their mother and sister at Tremessen, a city of the Turkes. At the same time reigned in the kingdome of Fez, the onely sonne to *Muley Abdela Xarifa*, named *Muley Mahamet Xarifa*, who by expresse charge sent a man to Tremessen, and there he murthered *Muley Abdelmu- men*, as he was at his prayers in the Temple: *Muley Maluco* then being at Constantinople, where then bare sway the Sultan *Selim*. *Muley Abdela* aduertised of this murther (although himselfe had before procured it) made shew as if it displeased him greatly, and (with chiding his sonne) caused iustice afterward to be done on the murtherer. After some few yeares his houre of death approaching, he left as his only heire the sayd *Muley Mahamet* his sonne, without making any mention of his brother *Muley Maluco*: who still kept himselfe at Constantinople, intending to request succour of the great Emperour.

*Muley Maluco* being certified of his brothers death, made such meanes vnto the Sultan *Amurath*, who reigned then after the death of his father Sultan *Selim*, that he gaue him ten gallies for his passage to the realme of Argell or Argiere, and commandement to the king of that countrey, to leuie so many men as he could, and then to accompany him in his owne person, till he had seated him in the kingdomes and lands of Barbary. *Muley Maluco* hauing bene at Argiere, departed thence in company of the sayd king, and with him three thousand Turkish harquebuziers, all arriuing together at Tremessen, where with ten peeces of artillery and other munition, the inhabitants vnited their forces with



them. From thence he journeyed with his power into Barbary, and there after diuerse fightes with the king his nephew, he tooke possession of Teza, which was yeelded to him without any resistance. And proceeding onward, he came to Fez, where then was *Muley Mahamet* with thirty thousand horse, and ten thousand harquebuziers: there was likewise an Andalusian Colonnell, that came and ioyned eightene hundred Andalusians with him. The ordinance on either side played very roughly, *Muley Mahamets* part did small dammage, but *Muley Maluco* very much, discomfiring almost all his nephews horsemen, and forcing them to a speedy flight. On the other side, the foote (after diuerse hote skirmishes) came to handy blowes, continuing the fight so long, and with such fury, as darke night was faine to terminate the battell. *Muley Mahamet* beholding his troupes thus vanquished, and considering it was beyond his strength to make any further counter-quarrie against his vnckles forces, withdrew himselfe into Morocco, and such in his company as bare him best affection. His vnckle tooke the way to Fez, where he was honorably receiued, and few dayes after gaue free liberty to *Bacha* king of Argiere, to depart home againe with his men, whereof seuen hundred remained there still with him. *Muley Maluco* vnderstanding that his nephew prepared to charge him with a fresh encounter, went thence to Miquines, where continuing his resolution, within a while after the two armies began to shew themselves neare to the towne of Halé, where the vnckle overthrew againe his nephew and his forces, which amounted to forty thousand horse, and ten thousand harquebuziers. *Muley Mahamet* seeing himselfe flatly foyled in the field, and out of all hope of making head any more, fled to Morocco, whence he passed to the mountaines (called *Montes Claros*) and by this retraite, *Muley Maluco* made himselfe sole Lord of Barbary.

*By this historie is apparantly to be seene, with what small helpe a man may gaine those kingdomes whereto he hath any right. In like manner, and with much more ease, may king Sebastian reconer his: because it appertaines to no other but him, for he is true Lord and King thereof.*

From



From the mountaines *Muley Mahamet* sent his Embassadors to the king *Dom Sebastian*, and desired succour at his hands: making him such large offers, as were very profitable, and greatly for the aduantage of Christendome. He gaue him (as I haue learned from diuerse credible persons) all the shoares which he held on the Ocean sea, and fixe leagues into firme land, with the townes and cities thereto belonging: among which were the cities of *Arzile*, *Saphin*, & *Larache*, all very strong places & of great importance. Some say that he gaue him the abounding *Alcacar-guibir*, *Tituan*, and other places: more, he caused in the field a plaine deliuerie of *Arzile* to be made, by *Cid Albequerque* brother to his wife, who was the gouernour of the sayd city. And granted him moreouer, that the faith of Iesus Christ should be preached in *Barbarie*, and full power to crowne himselfe Emperour of *Morocco*.

This was the reason that made the King *Dom Sebastian* locke vp his crowne, which the Kings his predecessours, and himselfe euen vntill that time, had openly worne. I saw that Crowne lockt vp into peeces of Artillerie, which were newly and purposely made for that voyage: in like maner I saw the Banners, Standards, and the ships vnder saile for that armie. And I know that the king *Dom Sebastian* tooke with him an vnkle of mine, my mothers brother, who was iudge of the Armories in the kingdomes of *Portugall*, to serue him as maister of those ceremonies, which were to be vsed in the act of his coronation as Emperour.

The king *Dom Sebastian* seeing so great offers (and being a Prince of the loftiest enterprises, desirous to winne honour, and such reputation as should wait on due merit) knowing what vertues consisted in himselfe, accompanied with such forces, courageous, fearelesse, hardie, active, and presuming in himselfe, that he onely was borne to breake downe and squander the infidels impieties: accepted the conditions that were made vnto him, And thus iustly deserued the finnes of *Portugall*, that he should put his person in daunger of losse, his kingdomes and Monarchie in the ballance as a pray to strange nations. Hence may your worthinesse gather, what you desire to know out of the first demand.

*An answer to the second demaund.*

I answered to the second demaund negatiuely: that king *Seba-*



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*stian* did not die in the battell, and that the body which was buried in Bethlehem was none of his. But before by manifest reasons I approue my sayings, let me intreate your sacred fatherhood to vnderstand, that when he began to make his preparation for this voyage, I was then a man of yeares, and in some authority (which admit as spoken betweene our selues, because that which oftentimes contenteth friends, displeaseth and raiseth a repining nature in such as are not so.) When he parted from Lisbon to passe into affricke, being the yeare 1578. and in the moneth of Iune, I was in the 35. yeare of mine age, and had the vse of very honorable charges, gouerning some couents of mine order, and had preached in diuerse places of Portugall, with applause and satisfaction of mine auditors. The same yeare I was in Lent called from my couent at Santeren, where I then abode, to Lisbon, by *Dom Alphonso de Chasteaublanc* chiefe Almoner to the king, and Commissary generall of the Bull for the Croisade, to preach in the townes of Esbemos, Borba, Villaricosa, Landroal, Terena, Moncaras, Moran, Mora and Portel: and I was enrolled in the register of them, who were appointed to accompany the king in his present voyage, which could not by my selfe be performed, because my Prelates that had commaund ouer me, had consigned me to the gouernement of the Couent of Santeren, which is the fourth of our order, and the chiefest in Portugall: because the Priour there ruling, began to find himselfe not well, and had accomplished his three yeares iurisdiction, in which respect my Prelates prayed the king to pardon me, from bearing him company in his purposed voyage, and at their requests it was obtained. Thus I stayed at home (although against my will) in Portugal, without passing into Affricke. I hold the rather this kind of discoursing with your Lordship, because you may the better perceiue, that I had yeares and authority (as before I declared) sufficient to know great men, and what belonged to state affaires. The king parted from Lisbon, taking with him about thirty religious persons of my order (to whom he bare very kind affection, and reposed trust inough in them, for he vsed to call them his brethren.) One of their number was our Prouinciall of Portugal, who commanded the orders through all the gouernement of the kingdome, and as well in Europe as in Affricke, Asia, and America, named brother

*Iohn*



*John de Silva*, a good child of fortune to the Governor of Portugal, brother to the Bishop of the city called the Port of Portugal, and to *Hernand de Silva*, who at that very time was Ambassador into Castile; brother *Martell de Bosa*, brother *Vincent d'Afonseca*, and other religious men of very good descent. There was also mine uncle *Martell Torres*, of whom I made mention in my first answer, a brother of mine likewise, called brother *Diego Cardoso de Miranda*, that married with a sister of mine, and diuers others of my kindred. King *Sebastian* hauing ioyned with his army in Affricke, at the city of Arzile, and leauing Larache, was gone toward the city of Alcacarquivir; there in the field thereto belonging, he put his men in order the fourth of the month of August.

When the beaui newes was brought to Portugal, and that I had intelligence thereof because of the interest I had in the journey, I was constrained to go to Lisbon, being foureteen leagues distant from Santarem, to vnderstand whether they were true or no. Where arriving the 21. of the said month I met with mine uncle, who was the selfe same day returned from Affricke. He by commandement of the Generall of the army, that remained behind as Lieutenant generall for the king, had brought thither with him vnto Lisbon *Cid Albuquerque*, and his nephew the young *Xarifa*, sonne to his sister and *Muley Mahamet Xarifa*, which young *Xarifa* is now a Christian, and liues in Spaine, bea-ting the title of the Prince of Morocco, and is commander of the order of Saint *James*, a Prince of many excellent partes and singular hope. Being thus with mine yncle, he told me that king *Sebastian* withdrew himselfe from the battell, embarqued in his Gallies, but for certaintie that he was alieue. If I would know any other newes, I should go visite *Cid Albuquerque*; and he earnestly intreated me that I would do him so much pleasure, because the sayd *Cid Albuquerque* would receiue great contentment by my sight and knowledge, for on the way he had much talke with him of me. So I went to see *Cid Albuquerque*, and after I had long conferred with him, I desired him to do me so much kindeesse, as to tell me what was become of *Dom Sebastian*. The first word that he gaue me, was deliuered with vehement expression of griefe, being thus: He is not dead, and if he be, the God of the



Christians is vniuersall. This he spake to me very sprightly, and in perfect good Spanish, which he had the vse of better then my selfe. Hereupon I intreated his Excellency to fauour me in such sort, as to tell me what he vnderstood of the whole affaires, and prayed to be resolu'd therein from his owne mouth. He lifting his eyes vp to heauen, hauing the teares ready to drop downe his cheekes: *Ala* (quoth he) which is as much as when we say, O Lord when hauing bene silent an indifferent while, he vsed these speeches to me: Reuerend father, your fatherhood shall know, that although I am none of the oldest in the world, yet I haue bene seene in some battels, where I haue noted men of singular valour, and incomparable power: but I neuer saw so braue and generous a knight (whereat he fercht a great sigh) as the king *Dom Sebastian*. For he excelled all the rest, fighting in this sad and disastrous battell, and euer I was by his side: all the world would haue made him way, and by the behaviour of his sword, he left the earth couered with his enemies bodies. God hauing then giuen (deare father) to the Christians, a Prince so valiant, hardie, courageous, wise, good and iust, and to take him from them againe in so short a time (for he was aged but 24. yeares, 7. monethes, and 15. dayes) he should shew himselfe cruell and very vniust to them, and as for my selfe, I should hold and esteeme him. (A discrete answer out of an infidels mouth, considering he was better grounded in good speech, then gouerned by the rule of truth: because among the attributes which we giue to God, one of the most proper is that he is an vpright Iudge, and the iudgements of all truth are iustified by himselfe, as the kingly Prophet *David* evidently shewes vs in the 18. Psalme and 10. verse.) And because (quoth he, proceeding) that I hold it for most certaine, that he is alive, know that I came from the battell with him, and with the king *Muley Mahamet* my deare brother, and riding along the riuer of *Larache*, to passe on the other side, certaine *Moors* gaue vs the chase some fixe leagues from the field of battell. So that we were forced to separate our selues one from another, I passed the riuer, leauing the king and my brother on the other side. He was very sore hurt vpon one arme, and the bloud ran forth thereat abundantly: so that if he be dead, it was vpon that wound, otherwise with



without all doubt he is liuing. I sweare to your fatherhood, that my words are of truth.

My selfe hauing discoursed this story to diuers persons, as well in Portugall as some other parts of Spaine, whence I departed in the yeare 1581. constrained to leave my country, as well for further freedome, as to saue my selfe from the menaced danger of mine enemy, to passe into France, so to England, Holland, Zealand, and other quarters of Germany and Europe. Most worthy Lord, this may serue as a true testimony for me before me, to stop the mouthes of some aduersaries, who according to their deprauing custome, say that I haue not spoken this vpon mine oath, but onely inuented it. He further named many to me that were forced to flight, whose names I do not now very well remember. I thinke I haue remembrance of them at Paris among my papers written by the hand of a Gentleman, a Portugueze, who was named *Sebastian Figueroa*, which he gaue me three yeares after, as I demanded diuers questions of him concerning that day, to insert them in a booke which I was then making. The same Gentleman parted with the king, who about foure leagues from the field of battell, commanded him to turne backe againe, to vnderstand whether the enemy pursued still or no, which he did; but coming backe the same way to seeke the king, he could not see any of them that he had parted withall. And he had not gone far, but being grievously wounded, he was taken by the Moores: who questioning with him about king *Sebastian*, to the ende they should desist from his further pursuit, he told them that he saw his bodie lying among the dead. Many yeares since I heard the same storie, out of the same Gentlemans mouth.

In all the speech I had with *Card. Albuquerque* about king *Sebastian*, and in all my conference with mine vncle, and this last mentioned gentleman with diuers others, I neuer heard any report of his garments, nor of his armes, which were much differing from those of other Princes and gentlemen; which made me euer more hold it for most certaine that he was still aliue, because he could not be found dead in the battell. And this beleefe was secretly kept among the Portugals, although publikely they agreed with others and spoke the contrarie: therefore let no bodie blame vs in firmly maintaining, that this should appeare to be



the true king *Dom Sebastian*. I know well that your worthinesse  
may reply vnto me, that I was not aboue three moneths since an-  
swered by my Lord of *Salazar* (which Prince is *Henry* of Bour-  
bon Prince of Conde, chief Prince of the blood, and chief Peere  
of Fraunce) at *Strasbourg*, according to his quicke and  
ingenious spirit, (for he is one of the most rare and apprehensie  
spirits in the world) who said: If you hold this opinion, how  
chance you haue written in your booke, *De ortu Portugallie et  
regni huius*, &c. which was printed at Paris in the yeare 1582.  
that the king *Dom Sebastian* was dead? I say now to your reuel-  
read Lordship, as then I answered the selfe same Prince. My  
Lord, your argument is very forcible, neuerthelesse you must  
know, that when I made that booke which was in the yere 1581.  
it was no long while after king *Sebastian* had thus lost himselfe,  
and as then it was a matter extremely perillous to manifest this  
truth: because that as I sawe bookes might passe into Barbarie,  
the king of that countie gathering knowledge thereby, that the  
king *Dom Sebastian* was in those parts, and causing him by search  
to be found out, I might be iustly taxed with the cause of his losse,  
which had bene very great to all Christendome. But would you  
vouchsafe to see the booke I made, *De iure quod competit viris  
Portugallensibus in angaria sua Regibus et Principibus*,  
which I writ in the yeare 1588. you shall there find, that when I  
speake of the king *Dom Sebastian*, I iustifie him not to be dead:  
and that the bodie which was buried in Bethlehem as his, was the  
bodie of a Switzer. In the said yeare, because it was so long since  
the matter had past, I held it as no inconuenience to speake the  
contrarie to what I had said before: wherefore I treat, that this  
may serue as an answer and satisfaction to the alleged argu-  
ment. As for the bodie (worthie sir) whether it were his or no;  
I say once again that it was not, & that the body buried in Bethle-  
hem, in the moneth of Iunius 1582. then being prisoner in  
Lisbon, with 40. pound weight of yron on my feete, by the com-  
mandement of *Don Philip* the king of Castile, was the bodie of  
a Switzer, for so the Portuguezes commonly called him. They  
that visited me in prison (the number was but small, but they  
were people of great authoritie) mockt such as said it was the bo-  
die of *Dom Sebastian*; and often spake thus to me: Oh happie  
Switzer



Swizzer, to haue thy bodie buried with so much honour, fasting, and solemne pompe.

King Philip dealt herein very industriously, as well by thrusting a dead man into the mouthes of the Portugueses, who testified their king to be living, as also thereby to deceive others, who knowing little or nothing herein, might the better be emboldened in following his course. Our king, worthy Lord, according to the newes that we haue of him, which are correspondent to sundrie prophecies, whereto I haue said before that Philip was most assured, that my Lord and King could not be dead, and that the bodie which King Philip caused to be brought from Affrike, and entered at Bethlehem, was the body of a Swizzer, although they came neither from a David, nor an Esay, nor a Daniel, or any like Prophet, yet so plain at all but would giue both faith and credite to them. I herin I beseege my selfe, I desire that my infirmitie may be pardoned, confessing that much more great is the desire I haue to see so strange a maruell in my time, then any hope I haue at all of accomplishment of those Prophecies, which your holy fatherhood may behold in the discourse annexed to the end of this answer, and that discourse, the reuerend Father Doctor *Sampos*, entitled *Dominus Orietur*.

To proue that the bodie was not the bodie of our king *Dom Sebastian*, I desire to know, that many saw him living, who at this very day are dwelling foure, fve and six leagues distant from the field of battell. Moreover I remember, that being by Gods grace escaped from the rigorous imprisonment wherein I was, consulting of consultation with some religious persons of my Order, who had endured bondage and slavery: they all told me, that the king *Dom Sebastian* was in Barbarie with the Arabes, and liued in the mountaines. And I call to mind, that as the reuerend Father brother *Thomas Segura*, Superiour of *Elbora* and my ancient friend came to visite me, saying to him, that I was much bound to Father *Piment* of *Aphonsera* (who was then Archbishop of Goa) for the kind fauours he had done me during my captiuitie: he answered me; If brother *Piment* shewed himselfe conuicted to your fatherhood, I beleue he did it because he was your kinsman (as indeed he was, but very farre off) nor in respect he was any good Portuguese. Vnderstand (my wor-

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the Lord) that this man was a very cunning craftie Spaniard, and was one of them we sent for Barbarie. He was so bad a man, and of so vile a conscience, that he durst maintaine for certaintie, that the bodie of a Swizzer was the very true bodie of our long *Dom Sebastian*, when all other else affirmed the contrarie. He lies buried in Bethlehem, by commaundement of the King of Castile: but I trust in God, that one day a king shall come into Portugal, who shall disinterre him out of Bethlehem, and send him to be buried in the Escoriall.

This brother *Vincens* of Aconseca, when the king of Castile began to recompence the seruices of some of his partakers, but scarce faithfull friends to their owne countrie, was made Archbishop of Goa, which is Primate of all the East Indies, and *D. Edward de Meneses* Viceroy of the said Indies. Moreover, the Portuguezes did so certainly assure themselves of their king *Dom Sebastian*'s life, that a Portugall Mason was so bold, as to publish himselfe to be the said king *Dom Sebastian*, and found in the action very many followers: who went with him straight to Lisbon, and if he had entred the euen of *S. Iohn Baptist*, he had bene receiued in seate of the same king *Dom Sebastian*. But being badly councelled, he lodged that night a league off the citie, whither sallied forth diuerse Castilian souldies and good store of Portuguezes, that knew him to be a meere seducer. Whereupon, being forsaken of his associates that followed him like vnarmed fooles, he was taken and hanged, and caused diuers others to be hanged likewise, of royall authoritie; among whom (to his owne great ill hap) was a President hanged.

Likewise in a certaine Province of Portugall, called *Beira* a poore Portugueze of meane condition, gaue out himselfe to be the King *Dom Sebastian*, and this was deliuered for a matter so true and confident, as the Cardinall of Austria, who at this day is Archduke, and earle of Flaunders, being Viceroy in Portugall, determined to withdraw himselfe thence into Castile. Neuerthelesse, following the counsell of the fiue Gouvernours of Portugall, who gouerned the kingdome conioyntly with him, he sent to Captaine *Gil de Mesa*, who now is one of the gentlemen of the chamber to the most christian King, that he should go with his companie of two hundred men, and to take the man there, and bring



bring him thither with all honour and reuerence: because if he  
chaunced to be that man he named himselfe to be, he would re-  
deliuer into his hands the scepter, and the Crowne belonging to  
the Portugall Kings and their kingdomes. *Gul de Mesa* went on  
his iourney, and arriving in the Prouince of *Beira*, came to the  
towne of *Penamacor*, and finding the man, tooke him very easi-  
ly, and brought him along with him to *Lisbon*: where being  
knowne for an impostor, he was publickely whipped with rods,  
and after sent to the gallies: he was liuing still not many yeares  
since, and euerie one called him sober *Sebastian*. He was not  
hanged, because in his triall he could not be charged with any  
other crime, then this which was but of his owne inuention. Last-  
ly, we know that in *Spain*, a Cooke or Pye-baker of *Madrigall*,  
made himselfe to be held for the king *Sebastian*, and in secret cau-  
led it so to be giuen forth: but afterward, as each of this false o-  
pinion had found before, he was knowne to be an abuser, and  
for he had committed other very hainous offences, was execu-  
ted according to iustice.

These examples do witnesse perfectly to our eyes, that since  
the losse of their king *Sebastian* in *Affricke*, all the Portuguezes  
haue euermore taken him to be liuing: and hereby appeareth suf-  
ficiently that he is not dead; neither was that his body which was  
buried in *Bethlehem*. Moreouer, by the same examples your  
worthy Lordship may easily iudge, that this man held as a priso-  
ner at *Venice*, is the King *Dom Sebastian* himselfe, considering  
that in two yeares and fife monethes already passed, since he first  
began to manifest himselfe, the Seignurie continually found  
from day to day, more euident appearance still of truth, without  
encountring any thing whatsoever to the contrary; or could be  
beleueed for certaine, in all the allegations of the Embassadour  
from *Castile* against the prisoner. The Lords of this honorable  
estate, warned by the successe of such false impostors, may the  
better excuse themselues, that they haue with such extremity  
and long delay, proceeded against the very person of king *Dom*  
*Sebastian*. Which being so, and the diuine Oracle ensuing added  
hereto: I hope I haue answered (reuerend Lord) your second  
demaund.



*A diuine Oracle, worthy to be published  
and knowne through all the world: imprinted*

*at Lisbone in Latine, with permission of the holy  
office, in the yeare M D C.*

*Brother Stephen de Sampayo Portugueze, of the or-  
der of the Friers Preachers, reader of diuinity in  
the Vniuersitie of Tolossa,*

*To the Reader.*

**A**s the al-good and most mighty God, disposeth things with na-  
lesse oportunity then clemency, it is come to passe that since  
the time of some foure yeares past, there hath bene found in Portu-  
gall two memories or monuments, of most venerable antiquity, in  
a very celebrate Monastery of the order of the Cisteaux, which  
we commonly call the Abbay of Alcobaga, as the fathers of that  
conent searched among their papers and registers, for certaine pri-  
ueledges for their warrant for a kind of vacation, whereof it shall  
be needlesse to speake at this time. And in short while after they  
were presented to Philip I I. king of Castile, by the Priour Provin-  
ciall of the sayd order, and read apart each from other before his  
Catholike Maesty, and then againe redeliuered backe to the Mo-  
nastery: both which (for certaine causes) haue bene brought to  
light, and the translation of them conserued with the original.

*The oath of Dom Alphonso first king of  
Portugall, for approbation and assurance of the  
vision, which he saw the yeare M C X L. in the  
Prouince of Campo d'Ourique.*

**I** Alphonso first King of Portugall, sonne to the famous Earle  
Henry, graund child or sonne to the great King Alphonso, be-  
fore you worthy personages, the Archbishop of Braga; and the  
Bishop of Coimbre, and Theotonio, and you other Lords, offi-  
cers, and subiects of my kingdome: do sweare vpon this Crosse,  
and



and on this booke of the most holy Euangelists, which I touch with my hands; that I a miserall sinner, haue seene with mine vnworthy eyes, my Lord Iesus Christ spread abroad vpon the crosse, in manner following.

I being with mine armie in the land which is neare to the riuer Tagus, in the Prouince of *Campo d'Ourique*, to giue battell to *Ismael*, and to foure other kings of the Moores, who had with them infinite thousands of men at armes; and my people being somewhat sad and fearefull, to behold such a numberlesse multitude of warriors, came vnto me and sayd, that it would be overmuch boldnesse in vs to bid them battell. Whereupon, being very much afflicted with what I heard and saw, I began to ponder a part by my selfe what I were best to do. In my pauillion I had a booke, containing both the old Testament and the new of Iesus Christ; I opened it, and hapning to reade the victorie of *Gedon*, I began thus to say to my selfe: Thou knowest o Lord Iesus Christ; that for the loue of thee, I haue vndertaken this warre against thine enemies: Lord, it is in thy hand to giue me and mine strength to vanquish these blasphemers of thy name. And speaking so I fell asleepe vpon the sayd booke, and sleeping, I saw an olde man come to me, saying: *Alphonse*, take good courage, for thou shalt vanquish and put to repulse all these Kings here, and shalt breake their forces, and God shall shew himselfe to thee. As I was in this vision, suddenly came to me *Ferdinand de Sousa*, gentleman of my chamber, who awaking me, sayd: Sir, raise your selfe, for here is an olde man come to speake with you. Let him enter, sayd I: if he be any of our friends. When the man was come in, I knew him to be the same good olde man which I had seene in my vision; he sayd vnto me: Sir, be of good cheare, you shall vanquish, you shall vanquish, and you shall not be vanquished. God loues you, for he hath cast the eyes of his mercy vpon you, and on your race, euen to the sixteenth generation, wherein your ligne shall be weakened and diminished. Neuerthelesse, in this diminution and feebling, there shall be no want of his diuine fauour and succour. He hath commaunded me to tell you, that when you do heare in the night ensuing, the bell of mine hermitage, wherein I haue liued sinitie fixe yeares among the infidels, and in the protection of



the most high: you shall come forth of your campe, all alone without company, and he will make his great mirrey appeare vnto you. I obeyed, and prostrating my selfe in reuerence to the ground, worshipped the messenger, and him that sent him.

And as I attended in prayer the second watch of the night, I heard the bell, then (armed with my sword and shield) I went forth of the campe. Then I saw on my right hand toward the East, a bright beame in the element, the splendour whereof increased more and more. And as I held mine eyes respectfully fixed on that quarter, I saw in that beame (shining brighter then the Sunne) the blessed Crosse, and Iesus Christ crucified there-upon: likewise both on the one side and other, a multitude of young men seeming verie white, whom I accounted to be holy Angels. When I had beheld this vision, I layd by my sword, shield and garment, put off my shoes, and being prostrated along vpon the earth, I wept abundantly: then going to intreate strength and preservation for my subiects, without any trouble I spake in this manner: Lord, to what ende dost thou shew thy selfe to me? wouldst thou increase the faith of him that only beleeueth in thee? It were better (Lord) that these infidels should see thee, to the end that they might beleeueth: as for my selfe, from the day of my baptisme, I haue knowne and acknowledged thee the true God, Sonne of the Virgin, and the Father everhall.

This crosse was of admirable greatnesse, and eleuated from the earth about ten Cubites: and the Lord with a sweet sound of his voyce (which I heard with mine vnworthy eares) sayd to me: I do not appeare vnto thee in this sort, for increase of thy faith, but to comfort thy heart against this battell, and to fixe the chiefeest Princes of this kingdome vpon a firme rocke. Courage *Alphonso*, for thou shalt not onely vanquish and be conquerour in this battell, but likewise in all other which thou shalt fight against the enemies of the crosse. Thou shalt find thy men cheerfully disposed to the battell, and in the name of a king they will require thee to enter the fight; make thou no doubt at all, but liberally graunt whatsoeuer they demand. For I build and destroy both Empires and Kingdomes, and I will establish an Empire in thee and thy posterity: to the end that my name may be spread and augmented, euen vnto the very vttermost nations.

And



And that thy successours may know that I have giuen thee thy  
 kingdome, the Scutchion of your armie shall be fully beautified  
 with the price whereby I bought mankind, and of those where-  
 with the Iewes bought & sold me: this shall be to me a sanctified  
 kingdome, for preservation of the faith, and loving of pietie.  
 Having heard these wordes, I worshipped and sayd: For what  
 merites (O Lord) doth it please thee to shew me so great grace?  
 I will do whatsoeuer thou hast commanded me: and Lord, looke  
 fauourably on my posterity as thou hast promised me, and keepe  
 my people of Portugall safe and sound. But if any misadventure  
 be to be endured, conuent it (Lord) rather against me and my  
 successours, and pardon my people whom I loue as my onely  
 sonne. Which the Lord shewing me he would consent vnto:  
 Neuer (quoth he) shall my mercie part from thee nor thine, for  
 by them I am to prepare a great harvest, and them haue I cho-  
 sen for my harvest labourers in lands farre remote. This sayd, he  
 vanished, and I (full of confidence and contentment) returned to  
 my campe. And that these matters hapned thus, I king *Alphonso*  
 sweare by the holy Gospels of Christ Iesus, which I touch with  
 these my hands. Wherefore I commaund my successours that  
 shall come for ever, that they beare in their armes five Scutchions  
 parted in forme of a crosse, because of the crosse and the five  
 wounds of Iesus Christ: and in each of them thirtie pence, and  
 on the top or Crest the Serpent of *Moses*, being the figure of Ie-  
 sus Christ. And that this may be a memoriall to our generation;  
 whosoever shall go against it, let him be cursed of God, and  
 with the traitor *Iudas* eternally tormented in hell. Given at Co-  
 imbre the 29. of October. M CXL.

<i>S. Archbishop of Braga</i>	<i>Fernand Pires, cup-bearer to</i>
<i>B. Bishop of Coimbra</i>	<i>for the King.</i>
<i>D. Primate of Lisbon</i>	<i>Pero Pires, ensigne-bearer to</i>
<i>Gonsalo de Sousa, Attorney of</i>	<i>the King.</i>
<i>Guimaraes.</i>	<i>Vasco Sanches, of Lisbon.</i>
<i>Pelayo Mendes, Attorney of</i>	<i>Alphonso Mendes, gouernour of</i>
<i>of Braga.</i>	<i>Mendo Pires, for Alphonso, great</i>
<i>Secre. Martim, Attorney of</i>	<i>Chanceller to the King.</i>
<i>L. Coimbra.</i>	<i>Alphonso king of Portugall.</i>
<i>IThemando de la Croix, notary publicke Apostolicke, and Se-</i>	



creary to the Legate in these realmes of Portugall, have deli-  
vered this copie of the oath of *D. Alphonso* of glorious memory,  
according to the perfect original, which is sealed with five seals  
as labels hanging, the two farthest whereof becom to be those of  
the Archbishop of Braga, and the Bishop of Coimbra, and the o-  
ther two lowest, to wit, the fourth and fifth, belong to two of  
those Lords that are named in the role. Lastly, the next next is  
the seale of the king, having five Scutcheions arranged in the  
forme of a crosse, and in each of them thirty pence, according as  
anciently the sayd King and his successours were accustomed to  
beare in their armes, and the rest of the seales are of red wax, ex-  
cept the kings seale which is of natural virgin wax, as rather as it  
is commonly called, white wax. The rest are hanging as labels of the  
same color red, but that of the king is fastened to a label piece of  
the same parchment, being altogether whole and sound without  
harme. Thus do I certifie & maintain all this to be true, as I am  
Notarie, & according to the oath which to I stand obliged by reason  
of mine office. In affirmation whereof I have subscribed my name  
writing, & sealed it with my seale publike & accustomed. I have  
the 4. of Noueber 1599. being thereunto prayed and requested.  
at our house in the city of Lisbon *Thomas de la Cruz* Notarie

*A testimoniall of Alphonso the first king  
of Portugall, for a vassellage or free-  
ney by him granted.*

**I**N the name of God, because it is necessarie, that every faith-  
full man should do his part to the Ministers of God, for those  
goods which he hath received from the Soueraigne Lord of  
all things, to the end that by their meanes he may be made part-  
aker of the heavenly treasures: Fe *Alphonso*, not long since created  
by the grace of God King of Portugall, and for that cause feeling  
my selfe to stand more obliged then any other, desirous to offer  
vnto the most High my bodie and all my best meanes, that both I  
and any successours might raigne for euer: acknowledge first to  
hold our kingdome at the hand of God, who made us first the  
of to me, to the end that with firme heart and perfect will, I  
should defend the Christian faith against the outrageous Infidels,  
and



and thus I should end on the holy Church with the rest of  
my Realme: for performance whereof, it should be a holy king-  
dome, loved of God, and established for ever. And because I  
have already received my full inheritance, and all such as shall ap-  
pertain to me, to the blessed *S. Peter* and his successors, bestow-  
ing likewise to make him my advocate to God and his blessed  
mother, by the assistance of my subjects (who by their virtue,  
without any strange help, have established me on this my royal  
throne, appointed and confirmed, as well for me as for my suc-  
cessors, charity sake, my kingdom to my successors, and them that  
shall come after me, shall be in the safeguard, protection, defence,  
and patronage of the most glorious virgin *Mary* *the Queen* and  
Ordaining and commanding to every one of my successors  
that shall come lawfully to the inheritance of this kingdom, en-  
tirely to pay and give in ransom of a pecuniary bondage, and  
of a bondage to the said church of our Lady of Chintour, (which  
is in the Order of the *White Friars* situate in the Realme of France  
in the diocese of *Langres*) the little Marmetia of gold, pure, fine,  
weight and good, that shall happen, that any one of the said Mo-  
nasteries, either past or by our governance, where there is builded a  
monastery, the persons and goods of such abbeys, shall be un-  
der the rule and patronage of the King, so that they shall not be  
molested, disquieted, troubled, nor deceived of their goods by any  
one. And if it happen, that they be deceived: that their former li-  
berty, in what house, time or moment it shall so come to passe,  
at their best advantage, let them do as they see cause. And because  
the goods of such Monasteries and persons may be as goods royal,  
all the King shall have so much care of them, as he ought to have  
if they were properly his own, and if any King, or Tyrant  
(which we hope that none such shall be borne of our race) come  
to molest the said persons, or make away their goods, and then  
commence, through the weapon point of our heritage, one of  
them, but those belonging to the virgin Mary: the shall be held  
fast by all to all time, be exempted from the defolation as  
those which we appointed for our kingdom, and his (descendants  
shall be seen upon the earth. As for the religious persons, which  
are of some of the Order in this Monastery of Chintour, and the rest  
of their Order, they shall have care to recommend devoutly the

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God, the state of our kingdome, and my soule, and theirs like-  
 wise of my kindred. And the Abbots *Dominicus Bernardus*, and his suc-  
 cessours perpetually shall celebrate the feast of the dedication of  
 their church every yeare, on the day of the Annunciation of the  
 blessed virgin *Mariæ* for which, oh Virgin mother of my Lord *Jesus Christ*, in ho-  
 nour and praise of whom this Order is established to shine upon  
 the earth: I *Alphonso* King of Portugall thy humble servant doe  
 intreate; that thou wouldst defend my kingdome against the  
 Moores, enemies to the crosse of thy Son: and keepe this crowne  
 free from all straunge domination, and permit no one to pay this  
 see monie and homage, but thy loyall servants; and those descen-  
 ded from my selfe. That if any one attempt any matter whatsoe-  
 ver, contrarie to this vassellage and testimoniall of this tribute: if  
 he be a subiect, let him be expelled out of our kingdome. If he be  
 a King (which God forefend) let him be held as accursed by vs, &  
 neuer to be mentioned in our lignage: but that God (who gave vs  
 this kingdome) despoile him of all (digging I suffer him to be  
 vanquish him, and himselfe be buried in hell with that traitor *Ju-  
 das*. Made in the Church of *Lamego*, the 8. of Aprill M.C.X.L.II.  
*Alphonso the King*, *Episcopus*, *Graduatus* of the household in which  
*Pere Payer*, Esquire, beareth to the King, beareth  
*Pedro Ruyter*, Governor of Coimbra, *Poligo de Sousa*, Certifier,  
*Consal de Sousa*, *Ulrich Sanchez*, *Mendo Pires*,  
*Rodrigo Alvariz*, witnesses. *Alfonso Egas*,  
*Thomas de la Cruz*, Notarie publique, Apostolique appro-  
 ved, and Secretarie to the Legat in these kingdomes of Portugal,  
 have collationed and corrected this present copie upon his pro-  
 per originall, which is enabled with the seale Royall: and so I  
 desist by the oath that I have taken in regard of mine office,  
 in signe whereof, I have subscribed and signed this with my  
 stile publique and usual. At Lisbon the 4. of November,  
 MDXCLX.



# THE DECESSION AND

more countrey of the Kings of Portugall.

The first generation.

*Alphonso Henriques.*

1.

*Sancho* 2.

*Alphonso* 3.

*Sancho* 4.

*Alphonso* 5.

*Denis* 6.

*Alphonso* 7.

*Peter* 8.

*Fernand* 9.

*John* 10.

*Edward* 11.

*Alphonso* 12.

*John* 13.

*Emmanuel* 14.

*John* 15.

*Sebastian* 16.

Hereby is vnderstood, that *Sebastian* is the sixteenth in generation, whereof king *Alphonso Henriques* spake in the oath of his reuelation. This *Sebastian* was borne after his fathers decease, when were very instant and frequent prayers, processions and fastings among the people of Portugall, in the year, 1554, the day of the two holy Martyrs, *Fabian* and *Sebastian*, a matter almost beyond all hope: for his father died in nonage or very young, and his mother was but sixteene yeares old. This Prince was of an exceeding good nature, high in courage, accompanied with great bodily strength, godly and religious, and that in such sort, as even from the cradle his subiects had him in much admiration, and they accounted him as another *Caesar Augustus*, according as carries the signification of the name of *Sebastian*.



*Auncient Prophecies which we cannot  
more conuenably appropriate to any other,  
then to this selfe same Sebastian.*

1. S. Cyrille the Hermit, in the meane of the reuelation which  
was made to him, whereof the Abbot Ioachim glozed.

**T**Empore annorum 54. orietur Sol, &c. Et erit Sol delitescens.  
Pungetur aculeo despectissimo; in specuparno tricamerato, &  
victibus pergrandibus communito ab Scorpionitis mancipabitur.  
Postea ad branium orbis pertinget, &c. Reade all this Chapter.

*In English thus:*

In the time of 54. yeares, a Sunne shall arise, &c. And this Sun  
shall be hidden. He shall be pricked with a most despitefull sting;  
he shall be in a little caue of three vaults, made strong with verie  
great barres, he shall be thrall'd by Scorpionites: after ward he  
shall come to triumph ouer the world, &c.

*Saint Isidore.*

Occultus Rex his pie datus, in Hispaniam veniet in equo ligneo:  
quem multi videntes, illum esse non credent. Domabit superbos:  
spurcicias Hispaniarum purgabit. In Syriam transfretabit: super  
Sanctum sepulchrum signum Crucifixi ponet: & erit Monarcha.

*In English thus:*

A hidden King shall twise be holly giuen, he shall come into  
Spaine vpon a horse of wood (that is a shippe) whom many be-  
holding, they will not beleue that it is he. He shall subdue  
the proud: he shall purge the Spaniards of their filthineses. He  
shall passe into Syria: he shall place the Ensigne of the Crucifixe  
vpon the holy Sepulcher: and shall be a Monarch.

*Theophilus the Bishop.*

Quum secundum imperium occupabitur, Cyprusque a Christi  
hostibus fuerit aggressa, Pastor omnium, coronis Gratorum natus  
erit. Rhodia cum Magistratibus. Hispania parentis virtutis que  
munus illi tradet. Magistrum. Roma autem pastor gloriosus, igno-  
tus apud homines, apud Deum probus & iustus erit: qui cum vno  
Rege dicta Prouincia, qui solutus, mortuus, & non regnaturus pu-  
tabatur, regna deperdita recuperabit: Soldanum sue ditioni subiu-  
gabit, & in Christianis domum Dei restituet.



*In English thus.*

While the second Empire shall be troubled, and Cyprus invaded by the enemies of Christ: the Pastor of the sheepe of the Grecian troopes shall be left naked. Rhodes shall then want a Maister. Spaine stored with vertue and power, shall giue it a Maister. And there shall be at Rome a glorious shepheard, vnknowne to men, good and iust toward God: And this man, with a king of the same prouince, that shall be forgotten, dead, and thought neuer more to raigne, shal recouer againe his lost kingdomes: shall subiugate the Souldan vnder his dominion, and shall restore the house of God into Christendome.

*S. Methodus Bishop and Martyr. lib. 6. cap. 28.*

*Expergiscetur Rex in furore tanquam homo à somno vini, quem existimabant homines tanquam mortuum esse. Hic exiet super filios Ismael à mari Aethiopum, &c. Vide Biblioth. Patrum, fol. 526. prima Lutet. Paris. editionis.*

*In English thus.*

There shall a king awake in great furie, like a man out of a slumber of wine, whom men shall repute to haue bene dead. He shall goe out against the sonnes of Ismael towards the Aethiopian sea, &c.

*Sybilla Erichrea.*

*Compressa aquila, cuius nomen quinque apicibus inestimabiliter scriptum, ministrum iniquitatis destruet, vrsu conseret, sceptrum eius possidebit, &c. In tractatu qui incipit Requiritis à me, O illu- strissima turba Danaum. lib. 2.*

*In English thus.*

The compressing Eagle, the name whereof is inestimably written in five markes, shall destroy the minister of iniquitie, bruisce the Beare, and shall possesse his scepter, &c. In the Treatise that beginneth: *You require of me, O illustrious company of Grecians.* The second booke.

E



## *An explication of some pointes contained in this Discourse.*

*In the Epistle to the Reader.*

**T**He cause why the religious persons of Alcobaça sought among their papers some priuiledges and Donations of the Kings of Portugall, was because his Maiestie Catholique *Dom Philip 11.* King of Castille, pretended to sell the iurisdiction of seuen townes, whereof the said Monasterie is Lord. And because this diuine Oracle was imprinted at Lisbone, it was made dangerous to declare the said cause. Wherefore the father Doctor *Sampayo* said, by way of parenthesis, that it was not good to speake of it at that time.

*In the Oath of the King Dom Alphonso.*

The said King commaunded to his successours, to come to the field with their shield of armes, containing five scutchions fashioned like a crosse, in each of which should be figured the thirtie pence, for which our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ was sold, &c. as more plainly is declared by the Notarie Apostolike *Thomas de la Croix* in his certificate, assuring that they were so figured on the seales. It may be that this commandement was obserued at the first beginning of the Realmes of Portugall: but whether since then to this present, we do not find that it hath bin kept, chiefly since the raigne of *Alphonso* third of that name, and fift king of Portugall, who was Earle of Bullen in Fraunce. He adioyned to the crowne of Portugal the Realmes of Algarbes, which were giuen him by *Dom Alphonso le sage*, King of Castille, and Emperour of the East, in dower of mariage with *Domne Beatrix* his daughter, not to meddle at al with the crosse the first armes of Portugall (for first of all Portugall bare for armes a shield argent, without any other thing) he placed round about the shield which contained the five that fashioned the said Crosse, seuen scutchions of gold, in a field Geules, which are the armes of the realmes of Algarbes, and since then to this present, the kings of Portugall haue euermore held the same armes, as they do at this day.

*Stephen Garibay*, in his abridgement of the history of Spaine, speaking



speaking of the Armes and Colours, calls those Castelles of the Realmes of the Algarbes, which engirt the Scutchion of the armes of Portugal, *Orla*, in French *Geule* or a border, affirming that no other kingdome of Europe beares them but Portugall, By which reason we may say, that the Geule or border which we see about the armes of Fraunce, to wit, that of the order of *S. Michael*, and that of the holy Ghost, of the Golden Fleece in Burgundie, and that of the Garter in England &c. are but borrowed thence.

Now to returne to our armes: the King *Dom Emanuel* seeing himselfe in Europe, Lord of the kingdome of Portugall, and of the Realme of the Algarbe, which is in the prouince of Spaine; in Affricke of the other Realme of Algarbe, which is in the prouince of Barbarie; of all the coast of Guinee, euen to the Cape *de bonne Esperance*, and from thence vnto the red sea: and of a great number of the Isles situate in the sea of the said Affrica; in Asia of the Realme of Goa, and of a verie spacious Monarchie, considering he held nine Kings his subiects and tributaries, and foure Queenes: in America, of *Bresil*, a prouince of very large extension: he bare a Sphere for his deuice, which signified the rule that Portugall had in the foure quarters of the world. Adioying likewise, the Crosse of the Order of the warfare of Iesus Christ, because the King of Portugall, being graund maister of the said Order, is Lord of diuerse lands and townes in Portugal, and of all the authoritie which the Portugueses possesse abroad from thence. And because sundrie persons haue demaunded of me how they should vnderstand these Scutchions and pence: I here tell them, that the fise Scutchions in the Azure field set in one shield, the field whereof is Argent, each of them figured with fise white pence, do signifie fise kings Moores, vanquished by one Christian king. The kings of the Moores subdued, are *Ismael* and his foure confederates: the vanquisher is the king *Dom Alphonso* the first, king of Portugall, from whom grew this commaundement. As for the pence, because many haue alleaged to me, that in the fise Scutchions, there are but xxv. pence and not thirtie, as other Authors and my selfe haue written: I should be infinitely eased, if in remouing their doubt they wold but heare me. Would you find thirtie pence? Count first of all



the three Scutchions aboue and below, which containe fifteene pence, next, them that are trauesed on the right side, so that that in the midst be counted twise, considering it spreads vnto either hand: and there you shall find other fifteene pence, which ioyned to the first, complete the number of thirtie, and thus they may rest satisfied in their demaund.

To the Testimoniall of vassellage and feoffement.

*And because I haue already rendred my self tributary, and all such as shall appertaine to me, to the blessed S. Peter and his successours, &c.*

**W**E finde in the histories of Portugall, that in the yeare 1169. when Pope *Alexander* the sixt approued the election of the King *D. Alphonso*, and confirmed his kingdome to him: the king, by the consent of his Portugueles, made the said kingdome feudatarie to the holy Church of Rome, promising to pay as in tribute euery yeare two pounds of gold. In the time since, there is no memoriall found at all, that this tribute hath bene payd: as likewise none of our Historians do shew vnto vs, that these fiftie Maruedies of gold haue bene payed to the Monasterie of our Ladie of Clairueaux. And me thinks (worthy Lord) that it were not much from the purpose, to make here a digression, thereby to acquaint your reuerend worthinesse, ypon what reason the king *Dom Alphonso* had such deuotion to this Monasterie of *Nostre dame de Clairuauux*.

The king *Dom Alphonso* and *S. Bernard* did both liue at that time, and the king being informed of the wisdome, learning, and reformed life of this holy man, and what miracles God wrought by his meanes, in fauour and for the benefite of the faithful: he began verie quickly to receiue him into good grace and opinion. At this verie time, the king had sent his sonne *Sanche* to besiege the Citie of *Santeren*, called by the auncient *Tordules Scalabis* or *Stubelisque* the first founder; and by the Romanes, *Presidium Iulium*; by the Christians, *Santirene*, by reason of the holy *Irena*, a virgin & a Martyr, who suffred death there for the Christian faith, in the yeare of our Lord 696. Then afterward by the Moores *Capelicastrum*. This was a Parliament and



and colonie of the Empire, and one of the greatest and most important townes of *Lusitania*, whereof the *Moors* were Lordes. The King thinking one while in this siege, and of the Fortresse of this cittie, because it was built on a high mountaine, that it was a matter verie doubtfull and difficult to take and subdue: to purchase ayde and help of God by the intercession of our blessed Ladie the virgine, concluded in his soule, if he might happen to win the said citie, to make her great offers, and to erect in his kingdome a great and notable monasterie of Monkes of the order of the *Cisteaux* (whereof ensued the said monasterie of *Clairvaux*) which should and did flourish greatly through the world, and so doth to this day. The King *Dom Alphonso* sojourned then in the towne of *Combre*, which then was the capitall place of all the kingdome: within some few dayes after, the King departed from the saide towne, to be present at the siege with his sonne and traine; and as he was vpon the way, there came before him two or three religious men of the said order, who demaunded of him (on the behalfe of Frier *Bernard*) place for beginning the building of the monasterie which he had promised. The King considering apart by himselfe, and remembring that he had made this promise is his heart, and yet had not imparted it to any person whatsoeuer, and seeing that Frier *Bernard*, who was distant off from him more then three hundred miles, knew therof, he took it as a good augurie or presage, and began to hold it for certaintie, that the heavenly Architect would not slack his grace toward him, but that without all doubt he should conquer the said citie. Hauing then giuen good and charitable welcome to the religious men, he said: My brethren, you come in a verie apt season, let vs iourney on together, and I will recount it vnto you, as also make accomplishment of my promise, so soone as I haue recovered the citie of *Santaren* frō the *Moors*, which I haue besieged by my son & soldiers.

Three dayes after the arriual of the King there, the citie was wonne and taken, more by the help of heauen, then by the valour and strength of the Christians: albeit no way to disparage their deseruing, they fought like hardie and very valiant men. The King doing the dutie of a most braue Prince and Captaine, seeing himselfe in extreame great danger at the entrance of a gate which he had wonne, wheron is an imag of our Lady, and is called the gate



of our Lady *Alamarna*, which is as much to say as, *Tasten on mine Armes*, the very portugall words which the King vsed then to his Squire, because one had vntied the buckles of his armour. The King being made Lord of a place of such weighty importance, marked out forthwith to the saide religious men a great quantitie of ground, whereon they should begin to build their monasterie; which afterward increased in such sort, as in short time the number amounted to 999. They liued in particuler little celles, dispersed among the vallies and mountaines: and on feast dayes they would meete together to praise the Lord. The religious men of this monasterie doe hold by tradition, that their number shall neuer amount to a thousand, because if they giue the habite to one within the church, they shall find another to be dead without. This hath bene assured to me by persons of good yeares, religious men of the said monasterie, who call themselves *d'Alcobaca*, among whom are diuers of my kinred.

A thing which (right worthie Lord) may verie wel be so. For if we shall giue credite to *Camden* an English historian, who yet liueth at this day, and is an author worthie of beleefe: he certifies to to vs in his *Brittania*, that in the land which at this day is called England (which such as are seene in *Cosmography*, know to be no greater thē the kingdom of Portugal, with that of *Algarbe* in *Lusitania*) a tyrant King put to death twelue thousand religious persons, because they followed the part of another, who was the true and rightfull King. The same *Camden* doth tell vs, that these religious people were of a monasterie, which was diuided into three seuerall bands, and that the least companie of them contained seven hundred compleate. But to come to our purpose, these religious folke of *Alcobaca*, builded by succession of time, in the great breadth of ground granted them by the King *Dom Alphonso*, seven citties, so do the Spaniards call them, and the Latines, *opida sine vrbes*, because that almost all of them are engirt with walles, and haue castels, as in *France*, *Possy*, *Menlan*, *Mante*, *Vernon*, &c.

*Philip I I. King of Castille*, would haue sold the iurisdiction of them, as he hath sold others in *Spain* belonging to the Church. This moued the fathers of the said monasterie, to turne ouer their papers, and was the cause, that we saw with our eies a donation for deuout



deuout and holy, made to the blessed mother of God our Ladie  
of *Clairvaux*, whereof *Saint Bernard* hath bin Abbot. Now reue-  
rend Lord, may it please you licence me, to come to the declarati-  
on of some words in the propheties which perhaps may seem dif-  
ficult to some wheresoeuer.

## Concerning that of S. Cyril the Hermite.

*Tempore annorum. 54. &c.*

This proposition hath lately beene declared elsewhere, spea-  
king of the King *Dom Sebastian*, who was borne in the yeere  
1554. the 20. of Ianuarie, betweene eleuen and twelue of the  
clocke at night, as I well remember. I lacking bookes here, and  
haue not my memorie so good (worthie Lord) now, as in  
times past, my trauails, banishments, sicknesses (especially the last)  
hath depriued me of the better part, so that I cannot now cite  
some common knowne Psalmes without booke, which I had in  
my yonger yeeres by heart, and could say readily.

## Concerning that of S. Isidore.

*Oculus Rex bis pie datus. &c.*

This may be verie wel applied to *Dom Sebastian* my Lord and  
king: because that after the twelfth of Ianuarie, the day where-  
on his father died, aged but sixteene yeeres and seuen moneths, till  
the twentieth of the said moneth, An. 1554. when he was borne: at  
*Lisbone* throughout all *Portugall*, day and night they made con-  
tinuall processions, fastings and prayers, with very much deuoti-  
on and great store of tears, as the reuerend father doctor *Sampayo*  
makes known in his Epistle to the reader. The reason was, because  
the Portuguezes feared, that the kingdom should fall into the Spa-  
niards hands. For that when the King *D. Iohn 3.* grandfather to  
to King *D. Sebastian*, gaue his daughter *Mary* as wife to *Philip*  
then prince of *Castille*, it was said by the contract of this mariage,  
that if it happened that the King *D. Iohn* should deceasse without  
children,



children, he that should be borne of *Philip* and *Mary* should be heyre to the kingdome of *Portugall*; whereto the people then consented (say some) but repented afterward, that they laboured not to contend rather by law or warre, which questionlesse had not wanted, because the Lord *Dom Edward* sonne to the infant *Dom Edward* brother to the said King. *D. Iohn. 3.* then liued, who was a Lord endued with many singular vertues; and as a legitimate Prince borne of Kings by the ligue masculine, did euer more claime the succession of his ancestors in the said kingdome, which neuer yet fell vnto the distaffe. Hereupon the Portuguezes prayed to God so instantly, with so many processions, fasts, prayers and teares, that it might please him to giue them a Lord and Prince. Thus by diuine grace was *Dom Sebastian* giuen to the Portuguezes the first time, and thus now againe he giues him the second time.

*An answer to the third demand.*

For manie causes (right reuerend Lord) it was not necessarie for the King *Dom Sebastian* to discover himselfe in *Barbary*: of al which we wil alleage but two. The first, if he had manifested himselfe, he had run into great danger of his lifes losse, for his enemy could not more easily haue put him to death, then in *Barbarie*. There are a great number of officers kept in pay, who giue them such morsels, which is called the Boccon, or poisoned bit, as the poore patient cannot by anie meanes escape: they limit them to the yeare, moneth, daies: what shall I say? to verie houres and moments. The second, if *Muley Hamet* had got him into his power, the least that he would haue demaunded for his ransome, had been the cities and townes which the Portuguezes possesse in *Barbarie*. This had beene a small gift for him, *Tanger*, *Azile*, *Mazagan*, and the other places which the Kings of *Portugall* do hold in *Barbarie*. Neuertheless, *Sepra* had bin great losse to Christendom, for it is the key of *Affricke* and *Europe*. And the *Moores* hauing that in their own power, at all times, and whensoever they were thereto disposed, they might passe into *Spaine* an hundred thousand horse and more, and from *Spaine* post to other parts of *Europe*, as somtimes they did, when they were not so well instructed to warre, nor expert in Armes. Our histories of *Portugall* doe tell vs, that the infant *Dom Fernand* being taken by the

*Moores*



Moore in the field of the citie of Tanger, as he there held his  
siege: some few daies after, they came to demandaund for his rai-  
some onely the citie of Septa, which his father the King *Dom*  
*John* of worthie memorie, the Bastard, had won from the Mores.  
The king (that then was) *Dom Edward*, for the singular loue he  
bare to his brother, resolved with his people (who loued the  
Prince entirely) to giue what they had demandaunded. The infant  
*Dom Fernand* being aduertised of his brothers kind respect, and  
the peoples goodwill to him likewise, found the meanes to write  
secretly vnto them, that they should be very carefull what they  
did, saying: God forbid, that by my occasion Christendome  
should endure such a damage: I had rather be partaker among an  
hundred thousand martyrs, or die in captiuitie in the Infidels cu-  
stodie, then cause such a manifest daunger to all Christendome.

The Mores following still their motion (yet vsing the infant  
and his companie with extreame crueltie) came to the know-  
ledge, that it was hindred much more by the said infant, then the  
king his brother: whereupon they began to intreate him in farre  
better manner, that he might the gladlier consent to his owne re-  
demption. But they could no way worke him, to preferre his  
owne particular benefite, before the weale publique of Christen-  
dome. So that the Moores growing much displeased hereat, put  
him into an iron prison, without any bed or seate, and so placed  
him before the gates of the citie of Marocco, giuing him daily to  
eate certaine ounces of bread, and a little water to drinke. After  
some few moneths, this holy Lord rendred his spirit to his Crea-  
tor, in that rigorous prison, suffering a glorious martirdome, for  
the common good of all Christians, after the example of his Lord  
Iesus Christ, redeemer of the whole world. His bodie is buried in  
the Couent of our Ladie of victorie, which is of mine Order,  
commonly called *de la Bataille*, in the Chappell of king *D. John*  
his father, where God (in regard of him) did continually many  
miracles, for aduancement of the Christian faith.

The religious Fathers of the said Couent, on the day of his  
death do not vse to sing any Masse of *Requiem*, but that of all  
Saints, (because he was not ganonized, nor yet beatified) where-  
in he is contained amongst them. Frier *Ierome de Ramos*, a religi-  
ous man of mine Order, writ a booke concerning the life of this



glorious Saint, in the Portugall language. Which booke I beleeue that the king *Dom Sebastian* hath both seene and read, and that in imitation of the said Saint, who was brother to his fourth grandfather, I am certainly perswaded, that he hauing so apt meanes to conceale himselfe, would not be discouered: for should he haue there bene reuealed to the Mores, they might haue come and demaunded for his ransome, the townes and cities elsewhere set downe, nay the citie of Septa it selfe. And doubtlesse, the Portuguezes would haue giuen them all, nay rather much more, for the libertie of a King so good, so vertuous, and so holy, whome they loued with such and so great affection, as if he had bene a God and their redeemer.

The king *Dom Sebastian* (most worthie Lord) was naturally so Catholike and christianly addicted, that for the adding but of a very pulse breadth of ground to Christendome, he would most gladly haue yeelded himselfe captiue. And therefore we may well coniecture and credit his good nature, that when he could not get away without danger of his life, and likewise in respect of Christendomes generall benefite, he held it much more glorious for him to die in prison and flauerie in Barbarie, then to liue at libertie being Lord and Monarch of the world. Thus, right reuerend Lord, giue we end to the answer of your third demaund.

*An answer to the fourth demaund.*

Some do coniecture, that he hath bene amongst the Moores in Barbarie many yeares. Which very well be so (although such as haue not bene accustomed to frequent that countrey, do imagine it impossible) and oftentimes it hath so happened to the Portuguezes, that they haue liued captiues in Barbarie for the space of 10. 12. 15. 20. 25. and 30. yeares, without any tidings heard of them all. The reason is, that al slaues Noble do appertain to the King, and such as hold them in their custodie, are bound to make like deliuerie to him of them. Whereby very often the Lords of the Moores, knowing their slaues to be of noble race, dissemble with them, that they may not lose them: and that they may find meanes to be rid of them, graunting them for their libertie some reasonable ransome.

So got out of captiuitie the Prince my Lord *Dom Antonio*,  
who



who died at Paris with the title of King of Portugall, because he had bene elected, receiued, sworne and confirmed by the people, King of the said Realme: who being slaue to a particular man, his good fortune fauoured him so much as not to be knowne: and he mette with another slaue of his companie, an Affricane Gentleman, who spake verie well the language of the Coimbre, and called himselfe *Gaspar de Gran*. This man made his maister beleue, that this slaue *Dom Antonio*, was a Priest which would neuer be redeemed thence, because his kindred were very glad of his life in imprisonment, for thereby they had in meane while the benefite of his goodes and rents: wherefore he gaue him counsell, that it were much better for him to make some reasonable composition, then to be a looser altogether. In the end, the matter was so concluded, that for the raunsome of the Prince and the said Gentleman, the summe of sixe hundred Cruzadoes must be paid him, which are Crowns valuing fiftie solz or soule Tournois. And the Mores parted thence with them, neuer traueilling but by night, but hiding them selues all the day time: and on the fift or sixt day after they arriued in the night at the gates of Arzile, where entring masqued, they left their slaues, receiued their money, and then returned backe to their houses. If the Lord *Dom Antonio* had bene knowne for such as he was, and had fallen into the power of the king of Barbarie, his matter had sorted a quite contrarie way: for the slaues to the king are kept in very strong guard, and if they hold tenne thousand crownes rent, there will be demaunded fiftie thousand for their raunsome, which if they will not make promise of, they must endure the sharpe bastonnadoes. The slaues that are to other particular men, are much more nearer their libertie: either by getting such a summe of money, sauing themselues otherwise, or enlarged at length by the meanes of their Mistresses. It is a thing verie ordinarie in Barbarie, worthie Lord, for the women Moores do extremely loue Christians: & many times they receiue libertie by the meanes of them, and likewise get very good gifts fro them.

In like sort diuerse are freed and scape vnknowne, by meanes of the religious Fathers of the most holy Trinitie, which are called the Order *De Redemptione captiuorum*, in Fraunce we call them *Mathurines*. There is commonly Monkes of this



Order in Barbarie; who deale with the Moores for the raunsome of Christians: which Monkes do passe through all the Realmes of Barbarie, clothed in their habits; with yerie much libertie, and haue great credit with the Moores. Among whom, if they find some man of qualitie, that is not knowne at all, they compound immediately for his raunsome, and counting downe the money, or promising to pay it in a limited time, they set him at libertie.

I thinke reuerend Sir ( because I can yet vnderstand no further of matters passed ) that my Lord the king *Dom Sebastian*, hath neuer bene held as prisoner: or if he haue, it was his good happe to meete with an honest maister, with whome he liued so long, as till he could obtaine his libertie, or compasse the meanes to make an escape. And as we do imagine, he hath bene wandring among the *Ethiopians*, as your worthie selfe may gather by the translation of two letters written vnto me, the one from the Father doctor *Sampayo*, the other from *Dom Iohn de Castro*: the originals whercof remaine in my custodie, with seuen or eight other letters of theirs, which they did send to me frō Venice.

In this demaund likewise, your reuerend Lordship praies me to tell you, for what reason my Lord the king *Dom Sebastian*, did not come into Fraunce, or to any place else, where doubtlesse he might haue bene receiued according to his qualitie: namely, with better entertainment then he had at Venice? I answere, that being by Gods grace restored to libertie, himselfe will deliuer the causes that mooued him, to go and present himselfe before the Lords there, and those likewise which withheld him from coming into Fraunce or elsewhere, according as your selfe haue alledged. As for my knowledge of him, it sufficeth me to heare the speech of him, I being in one place, and he in another. But coming to the sight of him, I can demaund and know diuerse notable things of him, which is impossible for him to haue altogether forgotten: for assuredly he can and will resolute me in one or other. For since the time I became religious (which was at two and twentie yeares, and 26. daies of mine age) he being then aged 12. yeares, one moneth, and 28. daies, I haue seene him in diuerse quarters of Portugall, and conferred with him of very important affaires. Before I was religious, he being aged seuen or eight yeares, I serued as a Page to his Grandmother, his fathers mother,



mother, who was sister to the Emperours *Charles* the first, and *Ferdinand*, and graund-mother to the most Christian Queene *Maria de Medicis*: and for this reason he is very neare kinsman to the sayd Maiesty, cosin germaine removed by the fathers side, *Iohn* the sonne of *Catherine*, and likewise cosin germaine removed by his mothers side, *Iane*, who was eldest daughter to the sayd *Charles* the first brother to *Catherine*. This which hath bene sayd (ioyned with the translation of the two missiues ensuing,) may serue as answer to your fourth demaund.

*The translation of a letter from the father  
Doctour Sampayo.*

To the Right reuerend father and Doctor, the  
*father Frier Ioseph Texere Portugueze, Counciller  
and Almoner to the most Christian King, in  
our conent of the friers preachers  
at Paris.*

*Most reuerend father and maister:*

I Haue heretofore written to your fatherhood concerning this present matter, and because I know not whether my letters haue bene deliuered you or no, I determined to send one more after the rest. Perswade your selfe (holy father) and euen as God shall deale with my soule in the article of death: that no other motiue stirres me hereunto, but onely brotherly affection, truth and zealous loue to the liberty of my countrey.

The King *Dom Sebastian* our Lord, is prisoner here in this city, and so hath bene for two and twenty monethes: whom God (in his iudgements concealed to himselfe) hath permitted to come hither, transported to this place very poorely, and robbed by five of his owne seruants which he entertained in Cicilie. But so soone as he arriued here in this city (where he hoped to find good fauor and support) immediatly the Embassadour of Castile persecuted him most cruelly: perswading the Seigneurie, that he was a *Calabrois*, a theefe, &c. For this cause the Lords imprisoned him, and rigorously proceeded against him: here they keepe him close



shut vp, not suffering him to be seene, nor enlarged, nor execute any act of iustice vpon him: *Quia nullam inuenient in eo causam.* Because they can find no iust cause against him.

Our finnes are great, great is the strength of Spaine, and the malice of the Iewish Portuguezes in this countrey, whereof some weare red bonnets, and others blacke: but the last are most dangerous. They thinke that they can impeach what God hath ordained *ab eterno*, as the diuell would haue done the death of Iesus Christ, by the meanes of the wife of *Pilate*. That this is very true, I sweare to your fatherhood, by the passion of Iesus Christ: that this man is as truly the King *Dom Sebastian*, as I am knowne to be Frier *Stephen de Sampayo*. And if it be not found to proue accordingly, let me not only (be condemned as a lyer, but for a renegate, a blasphemmer and an hereticke. For this, haue I endeouored my very vttermost diligence in my Portugall voyage. I haue bene on one side and another, and vnderstand secretly, that he hath all the markes on his body, without failing in any one of them, as he had in his infancy, onely the wounds excepted which he receiued in the bloudy day at Affricke. He giues the reason of his life, and yeelds account of all his passages in such sort, as there is no vnderstanding so obstinate and blind, but must thereby be vtterly vanquished; and God be my helper, as this is the truth.

These Lords do expect, that Kings and Princes should vnder-take this businesse, at whose instance they would admit vs to haue sight and knowledge of him: because they would not be faulty toward the Spaniard: for they say, they would not incurre the ill will of any one. This is an occasion whereby your reuerend fatherhood may purchase more honour, and performe farre greater seruice to God, the euer any Portugueze did: in comming hither, & bringing such letters of fauor with you, as may obtaine for vs the sight of him, and by examination to apprehend the very certainty, for here you shall find with vs more the twelue persons, of all the estates of his time to know him by. He hath bene so vnfortunate, that leauing all his companions scattered through the world, he is here arriued without any one of them. *Dom George de Lancastre*, Duke of *Aneyro*, whom he left in *Ethiopia*, were sufficient for his deliuerance, if he were here present.

I humbly pray your fatherhood, that vpon sight of this present letter,

letter, you would speedily iourney hither, for your personall being here is very necessary: considering withall, that a religious man your brother, of the order of *S. Dominicke*, vses these perswasions to you, one that desires your good, honor and quiet, with as earnest affection as his owne.

It is seuentene monethes since I put hand to this seruice, I haue bene in Portugall, and returned thence as I haue told you, & it is impossible for me to be abused as some are: who thinke this man not to be the King *Dom Sebastian*, but that the Seignurie detaines another hidden in stead of him. This man here, knowne and reknowne for such, by the Concierges, by the Iudges, by the greater part of the Senate, and by his owne Confessor, yet such is the inuention of this worlds children, as they imagine themselues more powerfull then God, and would presume to abolish so maruellous a worke of the Lord.

I haue written to the Gouvernour, and to many other; I know not what the sinnes are of our Portugezes in Fraunce, who were wont to oppose their liues to extreame daungers, and hazard losse of their goods (with very good zeale) for a figure: and will they not now with so much honor, in an action of truth and glory, make their owne aduantage and benefit, not for a shadow, but for a rightfull King, whose life (both in the prison and abroad) ranieth all the countrey with admiration, by the meanes of his fastings, prayers, and disciplines? notwithstanding all which, his strength is not a iot impaired, for he is of very marvellous fortitude.

Whosoeuer will say, that this man is a Calabrois, and that he speakes not a word of Portugall: he lies, he is the true King of Portugall *Dom Sebastian*, and speaketh Portugall (though somewhat corrupted, because it is 22. yeares since he spake the language vsually. Whosoeuer sayth that they haue shewne him to vs, he lies: for to delay and winne time withall, these Lords sent me to Portugall, to be enformed of the markes of his body, telling me, that otherwise they would not let me see him, and that the Portugals had such forward desire to be free from the Spaniards, as they would maintaine (if need were) that their king *Dom Sebastian* was but a Negro. Now albeir that I haue brought so many authentical markes, approued by publicke instruments from a Notary Aposto-



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like, I haue intreated that we may haue sight of him, to examine him, and make knowne the truth or falshood of the case, by the certifications which I brought hither with me, as also a Chanon of Lisbon that came along with me. It was answered vs from the Senate, after diuerse and sundry contestations; that it was not a matter belonging to them, to know whether he were a king or no, without some Kings and Princes moued the same to them on his behalfe.

I speake so amply to your fatherhood, because you may perceiue with what zeale I write at this instant. I iustifie againe vnto you, and sweare by the eternall God, by his only begotten sonne, and by all our faith: that this prisoner is our true Lord the King *Dom Sebastian*. If your reuerend selfe would come with letters from his most Christian Maiestie, I belecue that without any hinderance, they would shew him to vs, and vpon acknowledging, let vs haue him enlarged. We are now going to moue our request to his Holinesse, that it might please him to set a helping hand to this businesse, considering it is a case so iust and meritable of pittie, wherein we doubt not but to haue his furtherance.

With this present I haue sent you the oath of the holy King, to the end that you may make it publicke by impression: and by the first conuenient meanes, I will send you a letter which his Maiesty wrote to his holinesse, with an Elegie wherein he makes the discourse of his life. Once more I earnestly intreate your fatherhood, as much as possibly remaines in me, that by no meanes you will let slip so notable an occasion, well worthy to carry his deserving talent, and that in person you would manage a matter of such importance: which, beside imploring the strong arme of the King, and the fauor of all Princes, hath necessarily need of the assistance of all loyal Portuguezes. For what account of himselfe, can the reuerend father Frier *Ioseph Texere* render to the world, so firme and constant a louer of his countrey? What excuse can he alleadge, though there may be many, for not giuing furtherance to this affaire? Will he incur the infamie of N. who for his offences should be seene that this king doth liue? What hath your fatherhood done against the kingdome, that you should not present your selfe before all the world with plaine and open lookes?

lookes? Oh, for the loue of God, I beseech you consider in your soule, with what sincere affection I vse this language to you: I trust God him selfe will illuminate your reuerend vnderstanding, to behold how deare an interest you haue in this cause. From Venice the xii. of October 1600.

*The seruant and brother to your fatherhood*

Frier Stephen de Sampayo.

## *Another Letter from Dom Iohn de Castro.*

To the worthie Sir, Doctor Texere, Counsellour and  
*Almoner to the most Christian King: chiefe Almoner*  
to my Lord the Prince, and Confessour to Ma-  
dame the Princesse his mother.

*At Paris, in the conent of the Iacobins.*

SIR,  
I am extremely astonished, being the man that you are, and so well knowne for a Portuguese, that you should at anie time couet anie thing more, then the freedome of Portugall; that you make so small account of this incredible maruell, concerning the king *Dom Sebastian*, the only prize of all that kingdomes best aduentures, considering it is now so manie yeares since, that you employed your selfe in this businesse, with no small seruice vnto the said Lord. You haue scene the whole discourse along of this matter, by letters as well from my selfe as others, and because the former which I writ vnto you, were but briefly handled, as committing what remained ouerplus to better leisure, I am now determined (for diuerse good respectes) to touch more largely, yet as briefly as I can, the verie foundation and ground of the whole worke.

The King *Dom Sebastian*, who in the yeare 1578. lost himselfe in the battell of Affricke (he whom the enemie calls a Ca-



labrois) is the verie same prisoner which is now detained here: euen as certainly as you are Frier *Ioseph*, and my selfe *Dona Iohn*. He departed safe and aloue from the battell, but verie sore wounded; God hauing so deliuered him, with some other of his companie, among whom was the Duke of *Auoyro*. And hauing gone the better part of the world, about the end of his peregrination, he resolved to liue priuate in an Hermitage; where after some time passed, he was inspired by God, that he should returne againe to Portugall to gouerne his kingdome. The selfe same inspiration was likewise giuen to an Hermite, in the companie of whom he had liued: which Hermite reuealed many things very secret to him touching this matter: for which cause he departed from the place where he abode, to accomplish what the Spirit of God had inspired and enioyned him to.

So he arriued in Sicilie, in the yeare 1598. where he entertained foure or fife seruants (for he went before without companie) with whom he embarked himselfe at Messina, in a Galley belonging to his Holinesse, to passe for Rome, purposing to discouer himselfe to his said Holinesse. When he was come neare Rome, those fellows that he had entertained for his seruants, robbed and despoiled him of all he had, leauing him both poore and naked, so that he was constrained to seeke to needie and verie wretched people, who better than himselfe somewhat on him for the honour of God. This mishap made him alter his former purpose; and this poore miserable man was glad to trace all Italie, in hope to find the theeues that had thus despoiled him. In the end, hearing no tidings at all of them, he retired to this Citie, the aboue named yeare, in the moneth of Iune, hauing about him but one poore Gazete, a peece of mony valuing three Liards of France. In this maner he lodged at a needie wretched house, where he remained some dayes not being knowne. Afterward, diuerse particularly began to listen after him: for they heard that he called himselfe first a Knight of the Crosse, and then afterward, the King *Dona Sebastian*. As this brute ran abroad, *Antoine de Brito*, *Timoteo*, *Pedraleon Pessoa*, and many others came oftentimes to see him at his lodging: and by occasion of this rumour, which spread it selfe more and more through the Citie, chaunging his lodging, he fell by misfortune into the hands of vile men, which  
being



being but verie bare themselves, yet gaue him clothes and food at their charges. He got verie euill reputation by the companie of such people, which was the principal cause of his strange misaduenture. He was with those companions at Padoa, whereof this Seignurie being aduertised by the Ambassador of Castille, and of some tumults made among them: to forestall such inconueniences as might ensue, they sent to the Podestat of Padoa, that he should by cōmandement cause him to auoid the Towne within certaine houres, and by like certaine dayes to depart the places belonging to their Estate.

Hereupon for some speciall reasons best knowne to himself, he returned againe vnto this Citie, where the Seigneurs thereof at the instance of the said Ambassadour (who assured them that he was but a thiefe and a seductour, prouing it by the testimony of Iewish merchants Portugueses, and other persons of selfsame honest qualitie, who tooke their oathes he was not the King *Sebastian*, because the true King died in the battell of Affricke, neither did he resemble him in any degree, imputing to him many and verie enormous crimes) they sent to apprehend him, and as a malefactor committed him to verie close imprisonment: notwithstanding, there were many persons both before and since his commitment, that had knowne him verie well in Portugall, and affirmed him to be the true king *Dom Sebastian*.

At his first questioning withall, he declared to the Lords his mishap in Affrica, and in what maner God had deliuered him. After, to diuerse others he did the like, and perceiuing they would search into all his secrets, yet vsing him verie hardly, being a King, and one that had no way preiudiced their estate: vpon his naturall and wonted inclination to choler, moued in a subiect of such iustice and equitie, he refused to make them anie more direct answers, but one while said one thing, then againe another; neuerthelesse, he euermore maintained him selfe to be the true king *Dom Sebastian*, desiring the Lords therein to beleue him, and if they approued him not to be the same, then to chastise him iustly as a false decciuer, which as yet to this instant they would neuer do, nor yet permit him to be seene by any.

He is in a certaine prison, where no man may enter or speake to the prisoners: neither may one write vnto him, on perill of



the laylours life, if he should but consent thereto. He hath endured verie great pouerties, and passed through many hard traueses: being no lesse reproched and misprised, then the basest prisoners with him. His life is very religious, addicted altogether to prayer and fasting, feeding but on bread & water most dayes in the weeke. And yet notwithstanding this austere abstinence, he is verie strong, as I haue heard by one of the prisoners released out of that prison: who departed thence greatly affectionate to him, seeming to loue him highly, and reported matters maruellous of his strength and other good parts.

As for the exterior marks of his bodie, he wants not one of them which he had when as he raigned: the selfe same lip, looke, head, bodie, armes, thighes, legges and feete, not fayling of anie one marke which he had naturally (imprinted as it were) on his person. He is wounded on the brow of the right eye, and on the head, as many witnessed, when they saw him in the Affricke battell: he hath abundance of great wounds on his armes and legges: he speakes Portugall as mingled or corrupted, wherein he is not much to be blamed, considering he hath not spoken it in the space of two and twentie yeares, according to the resolution he tooke with his friends and companions, because they might passe the better vnknowne. His hand writing is the selfe same, obseruing still the same maner and method; all which are verie well remembred by diuerse, that haue both scene and knowne them in times past. In the secret notes of his bodie, there is none likewise wanting, albeit he haue many & very notable, as is iustified by good testimonie, approued by the public Notaries of Portugall. It is impossible to find another man in the world, that should haue all the selfe same markes, and it seemes that God had thus signed him from the wombe of his mother, with so manie rare and signall markes, to make him knowne (by meanes of them) in so unhappie and miserable a time, euen as he hath likewise preserved him for the fulfilling of so great and auncient Prophecies, which haue so copiously spoken of him. May it please God but to permit, that the prosperities in the accomplishment yet remaining to him, may answer in like certaintie to the foretold aduersities, which he hath passed already.

Things



Things standing in this estate, we haue demanded audience of the Seignurie, which twice hath bene graunted vs by the Senate with verie good will. And there we deliuered the rumor that ran abroad, of the imprisonment of our King *Dom Sebastian*, by meanes wherereof all *Portugals* was moued, and all Christendom held it for meruellous and strange: we requested that he might be seene and knowne, and if he were found to be the true King *Dom Sebastian*, that he might be so held and esteemed of euerie one. If vpon their suffering him, to be thus questioned and seene by vs, we returned and auouched him to be the same, we would submit our selues to such imprisonment as they thought meet, and suffer what punishment they would please to appoint, if herein we dissembled or dealt false with them. Before these audiences could be obtained, we offered them a Charter in parchment, whereby we gaue them to vnderstand, that we desired no other grace or fauour, but what hath bene graunted in the like case by *Philip. 2.* King of *Castille* (he hauing more interest in this matter then they) about two *Portuguezes*, who in *Portugall* did feigne themselves seuerally to be the true King *D. Sebastian*, he caused them to be kept in a publique prison, where all the world might haue seene and spoken with them, to the end that they might not be abused by them, and they were soone found to be villaines and deceiuers, whereby the *Portuguezes* were quickly resolved.

We required moreouer, that good order might be taken for his diet, and that his person should be safely regarded, while this affaire were further proceeded in, least his enemies might compasse his death by poison: for if anie such thing should so come to passe, the *Portuguezes* would report continually, that the Seignurie of *Venice* had murdered their proper, naturall, lawful and true King, when it should plainly appeare that he was no *Calubrois*, whence would arise such ill will betweene the *Portuguezes* and the *Venetians*, as the Seignuries name should for euer be scandalized through the world. See here the substance of all that we could doe, yet we continued still in our right, with all the diligence we could possibly vse, calling neuer for anie other thing then iustice. And as we grew great in the poore opinion of our hopes, *Diego Mannel* chanced to arriue there, by whose coming we were somewhat more



comforted, perswading our selues now to obtaine thorowly what we desired : because he had brought letters of great importance, which mainly might set forward our earnest sute. And to strengthen vs yet more, *Sebastian Figuera* came hither likewise the 4. of this moneth, with letters from the States in general of *Holland*, & from the Prince *Maurice* vnto the Seignurie, in fauour of the King *Dom Sebastian*, which were deliuered on the morrow, for the Lords had appointed vs to be heard againe as that daie.

Now aduise your selfe very well, whether I haue reason or no to thinke strangely of you, and to expect your presence here for obtaining of this glorie, wherein you haue so seriously trauailed vntil this day. If you haue any remembrance of heauen, or anie high and generous spirit, here haue you a subiect meet to employ it in. I beleue you reserve to your selfe the sur-name of a Portugueze, for nothing but to ioyne it only with that of *Texere*. This should be the hidden treasure, whereof in the end of the yeare 1598. you called to the finding your good friend the knight *Buodo*, when you made your passage into *Holland*. If you be desirous of glorie and happinesse, we shall soone haue you here: deuide your selfe in peeces for the Prince, and you shall find the effects thereof in the mercies of God. In sooth I know not how you haue abstained from coming barefoote hither, considering how zealous you haue beene for the good and profite of our countrie; and such a professed enemy beside to the Spaniard; and (in times past) of high courage for vndertaking of anie worthie attempt; seeing (vnder heauen) is not the like case as here offers vnto you; besides, being free for whosoever to embrace. Awake your spirites either now or neuer, and seeing you haue so much credite in those parts, pray, importune your friends in any place wheresoever, and if you may, obtaine letters from his most Christian Maiestie, the famous Queene of *England*, the generall States of *Holland*, and from all the Princes and Lords of *France*: that this Seignurie may suffer the prisoner to be known what he is, true or false, or at least to enlarge him, because to this houre they will neither let him be knowne nor seene: but faile not to come, with what fauours you can compasse. And say that deniall herein may be made vnto you, yet you must not slack your coming in a busines so expedient: for you shall do no mean seruice to your Prince, as you haue done here-

heretofore and that verie notably, and had we but your presence here, we should hold it sufficient.

Doe not let fall to ground so great an aduenture, seeing you haue done so much already for a shadow, and giue the like counsell vnto your friends; for neuer can hap like occasion to this. On one side the enterprise is put into your hand, on the other the recompence: doe like a defender of your countrie, and your merite shall be more then following times can acknowledge. Notwithstanding, let me thus condition with you, that you shall not be so couetous a louer of your selfe, as to make a sole benefite of the honour in this action, but to diuide some participation thereof to your friends.

I had forgot to tell you that the prisoner hath had of the Siegneurie, fīue crownes of this mony monethly to dispend, which is a little more then foure crownes of the Sunne; of which he giues away the most part to the poore for the honour of God. I once more intreate you to haste your affaires with what breuitie you may, and as you come, giue copies of this letter to so manie as shall require it, for I will send the same to as manie others as I write vnto. You shall doe me a singular pleasure, in making my commendations to *M. de Tiron*, and tell him, that this is the meruaile whereof I had talke with him so manie yeeres since, and let him make account to be as certain of my seruice, as his merites do iustly challenge. And to *Monsieur le Commaundeur de Chastes*, say that the time is now come wherein I shall make knowne to him how much I rest engaged and am readie at his seruice. And so please him to credite me: if he desire to purchase supreme glorie and great estate, let his employment be intire on this Princes behalfe, for thereby he shall gaine more honor and repute, then his highest thoughts is able to imagin. I kisse the hāds of al our friends according to my dutie, and let each one receiue me as effectually his. Our Lord giue you vnderstanding of all I haue writ vnto you, with happie and prosperous sucresse in your trauaile. From *Venice* the 6. of Nouember 1600. humblye kissing your hands.

*The most affectionate to your seruice,*

*Don Iohn de Castro.*



This *Dom Iohn de Castro*, whom I thinke your reuerend Lordship knowes verie wel, hath euer held this opinion; that the king *Dom Sebastian* was still aliue, and that *Portugall* should one day be restored by him. He tooke it for a matter so firme and certaine, that in the yeere 1596. when I was at *Folambray*, about some affaires belonging to mine order and my selfe, the King besieging *la Fere*, he iustified it in the Chapter house of our couent of *Iacobines* at *Paris*, to diuers Portuguezes (perswading them neuer to accord with *D. Philip. 2.* King of *Castille*, neither euer to goe together) for he knew assuredly that the King *Dom Sebastian* liued, & that *Portugal* would be restored within few yeeres; saying moreouer, that he esteemed it for a matter so certaine, as he durst maintaine it vpon his oath. Hereupon, so soone as he heard that the King *Dom Sebastian* was kept prisoner at *Venice*, he could not anie waie remaine in quiet. Immediately he made his voiage for England, to intreate the royall Queene to fauour and further this case: from England he went to *Holland*, for the selfe same purpose, and being returned to *Paris*, he neuer ceased till he came to *Venice*, where he arriued the 28. of Iune last past, and his voyage was of such importance, as we hope it will serue sufficiently to get his King at libertie.

*An answer to the fift demand.*

The persons that procured the libertie of my Lord *Dom Sebastian* king of *Portugall*, are these following. The father doctor *de Sampayo*, regent in the facultie of Theologie at *Tolossa*, whom your worthie Lordship doth know verie wel. He in the seruice of the said King, aduentured his life in verie great hazard, passing secretly into *Portugall*, and managed the matter with such dexteritie, as it was possible for anie man whatsoeuer to do. A doctor of the order of *Saint Bernard*, named Frier *Chrysostome*, a verie religious man, & (as I haue heard) of good credit and authoritie. *Dom Iohn de Castro* before named, the sonne to *Dom Aluaro de Castro*, who was one of the 4. gouernours that ruled the kingdome, coniointly with the King *Dom Sebastian*, those whom we call in *Portugal*, *Veadores de la hazienda*, & grand child to *Dom Iohn de Castro*, hertofore viceroy in the East Indies: of whose high prowesses, worthie deeds of arms & victories, our histories giue no mean

commendation. A Chanon of Lisbon, a man of noble lignage and rich, who abandonning his countrie, and forsaking his goods, departed expressly from Portugall on this respect: and brought the markes which the said king hath on his bodie, approoued by authenticall instruments of a Notarie Apostolique. *Rodrigo Marques, Diego Manoel, and Sebastian Figuera*, which three were seruants to the king *Dom Antonio*, namely companions in the same fortune. The last is he of whom we haue made mention in the second answer, and the same whom *Dom Iohn de Castro* saith in his letter, to arriue at Venice, with letters from the generall States of the vnited Prouinces, and the Prince *Maurice*.

It hath bene told me, that they expect at Venice the Lord *Dom Christophero*, youngest sonne to the king *Dom Antonio*, who is at Rome, and with him these Lords *Mannuel de Brito Pimentel, Pantaleon Pessoa de Neyua, Frances Antoine*, and other Gentlemen of Portugall, of whom I can say nothing what they are, because their names were not written to me. The newes that I haue at this present, are no other then those contained in the said letters from the Doctor *de Sampayo*, and from *Dom Iohn de Castro*, from each of whom I haue receiued diuerse other, which neuerthelesse sort all to one selfe same end. There be sundrie other letters here from other Portuguezes, that affirme this man to be the true king of Portugall *Dom Sebastian*, and approoue it for truth by many reasons, giuing such plaine apparance of veritie, that (according to humane iudgement) cannot be encountred or ratified on any other then himselfe. So that I see nothing which may call me into doubt of his not being the same man, for otherwise he must questionlesse be a spirit or diuell: which cannot be, considering his life is so holy and perfect, his proceeding most simple, and (to vse the very same words which one hath written to me) it is all meere simplicitie. If he were a seductour, or an euill spirit, he would expresse store of artificiall crafts and frauds in his doings: beside, a wicked spirit would neuer endure so long and rigorous an imprisonment. The aforementioned aduertisements, instances and intreates from the specified persons, beside reason it selfe, bind me (most worthie Sir) to part thus briefly, but I hope to visite you againe to morrow after breakfast: and so I close vp mine answer to your first demaund.

H



For answer to the first and last demaund, I say (right reuerend Lord) that it is to me very much displeasing, to serue as a Confessour in this businesse, and by that meanes stand bound to keepe all vnder seale: for this reason I dare not answer categorically, because I feare to offend my most inward wel-willers in their trust. Notwithstanding, that I may induce the king of Portugall *Dom Sebastian* my Lord into Fraunce, I promise to make the mightie truth so apparant, that it shall violently breake the very strongest bars opposed against it, and ouerflow the whole earth, that with much glorie and prosperitie it may floate through al the Septentrion, and grace him home into his owne kingdome.

When the Portugals shall haue their best loued & desired king at libertie: who shall offer resistance? If Sir, you reply to me, demanding how I dare assume such confidence in this case of *Sebastian*, seeing ( in late prooffe ) we could not do any act of great importance, when we had *Dom Antonio* present with vs: I answer, that to iustifie my words, I haue a thousand reasons that make for me. There was great difference betweene *Sebastian* and *Antonio*. *Antonio* came to the Crowne by a very great hazard and difficultie: *Sebastian* from the wombe of his mother was borne Prince & heire. *Antonio* employed his time to gouerne and visite the churches of his Priour *de Crato* (he was grand Prior of *Malta* in Portugall, and for this respect, Lord spirituall and temporall of thirteene cities, and more then foure hundred villages:) *Sebastian* vnto to manage his horses, and follow the exercise of armes. *Antonio*, as a man Ecclesiasticall and regular, kept his sword rusting in the scabberd: *Sebastian* like one secular and a King, caried his daily naked, shining brighter then christall. To confirme what I say, me seemes ( worthie Sir ) that it is not necessarie to alleage all the reasons which offer themselues: it sufficeth vs to know for certaine, that the King *Dom Sebastian* hath at this day, and euermore had the will and hart of a Portugeze, which is as firme in seeking his subiects benefite and loue, as it was euer readie with his weapon to encounter his enemy.

The Portugezes know very well, that they haue already felt for the space of 21. yeares, one moneth, and 25. daies, the hony & sweet relish of his gouernment, & that if they haue in all the passed

sed time, tasted any thing vnfaurie in his actions (because he was a little stiffe and sharpe:) they haue since then bene so ouer-glutted with gall, as they will find his very bitterest behauiour, more sugred and sweete then the others best tast. Moreouer, if there be great difference betweene man and man: euen so on the other side is there betweene time and time. The Portuguezes liue at this day, with an vnquenched thirst of their libertie, so that they would gladly cast themselves from the tops of high mountaines, to find a redresse for their slauish bondage. In the passed time, as they had neuer tasted but their owne naturall gouernment, so they knew not how to prooue the bitter, nor how well to esteeme the benefite of the sweete. Hence grew so many partstaking, both before and after the election of *Dom Antonio*. He had with him the people, the Lords of the familie of *Vimieuse* and others, with the most part of the ecclesiasticall and regular persons. The duke of *Bragancia*, he brought in his quarter many Lords of Portugall (for they were almost all descended of his house) and their followers, which made neare the number of two hundred thousand in Portugall. The Nobles of Portugall, which are there called *Escuyers* or *Cheualliers d'une Lance*, & are the principall strength and sinewes of the Realme, they betooke themselves all to see the sport of this play. The fourth part, which held for his Catholike Maiestie D. *Philip* king of Castile, because of the discord and deuision of the rest, was the strongest, & proceeded at more pleasure in those affaires. There was but one sole part with the King *Sebastian*, and to him they continued still vnited firme: for it is a thing very publique, and knowne through the world, that the Portuguezes not only loued *Dom Sebastian* as their king, but honoured him as if he had bene a God. Wherefore (worthie Lord) I hold it for most certain, that so soone as they should vnderstand their King to be in France, they would immediatly shake off the yoake of Castile, they would send him mony to supply his necessities, and would leauy an armie by sea, with whom they would gladly come to seeke him, and no bodie could tell which way to hinder them, for they are in possession, and hold all Portugall and his Monarchie properly in their hands.

His Maiestie Catholique holds nothing in Portugall which he can warrant or defend: for what can three or foure hundred soul-



diers, do within the castle of Lisbon, when for defence of the same there shall need 10000. There is in this Castle a Parish that holds more then 500. houses or make-fires, this castle was the pallace of our Kings, builded on a mountain all of earth, subiect to vndermining & blowing vp. His said Maiestie keeps his Garrison therein to no other end, but only for ostentation: I my selfe was prisoner in it 3. moneths and a halfe, in the yeare 1582. after the death of the Lord of *Sirozzi*, & I haue heard Captains say, that if 10. thousand souldiers were in it, they would make them dance out thereof in a moment, & mockt such as esteemed it for a safe securitie, if any rumor or tumult should be blown through the citie. His Catholike Maiestie holds as impregnable the Tower of Bethlehem on the sea, for guard of the port a league from Lisbon; at three leagues that of *S. Iohn*; at 4. that of *S. Anthony*; at 5. that of *Cascayes*. In the first, third, & fourth, there is not about 100. men of war: in the second, of *S. Iohn*, admit there were more then 400. wholoeuer is or shall be Lord of the land, shall be so likewise very easily of al those towers. But say that *S. Iohns* is mighty & strong: I know for certaintie, that the 16. part of Prince *Maurice* his A. B. C. were enough to race & batter it in 4. houres. (This A. B. C. are 24. Canons, which the Prince *Maurice* caused to be made for the batterie of *Stenwick*, & tooke it perforce in the yere, 1592.)

Moreouer, his Maiestie Catholike hath an other Tower, which his father caused to be made in the midst of the sea on a rocke, which is called *Teste seche*: this tower serues to no end, but that the other of *S. Iohns* doth countenance it. At *Setuball* six leagues from Lisbon, there is also at entrance of the port a tower called *S. Philip*, of very slender importance, by being built at the foote of a high mountaine that commands it. I thinke besides these, at the port of *Viana*, sixtie leagues from Lisbon, he keeps a Garrison of Spaniards in another tower: behold here the strength of his Maiestie Catholike in Portugall. But of what import will they prooue, though he had much more aduantage, if the Portugals were couiited & cōbined together? so much the sooner ensued his losse.

*Dom Iohn* king of Castile the first of that name, called himselfe king of Portugal in the right of his wife, who was daughter to *D. Fernand* king of Portugall; the Queene mother, her kindred and allies, did likewise take part with the Castillians: but the Portuguezes knitting them selues in an vnity together, rent forth of his hands

hands whatsoeuer he had insulted on, and chased him out of the kingdome, after they had ouerthrowne him in the battell of *Aljubarota*: albeit he had in his army foure and thirty thousand men, and they were but 7. thousand onely: afterward, they gaue him defiance againe at Valverde, at Trancofo, and elsewhere, as is to be seene in our histories (if your reuerend selfe but please to reade, you shall there find it agreeing with my words) and in pursuite they gaue him law at their owne pleasure, as anon we shall tell you more in this answer.

Thus we may easily perceiue, that it consists not in the strenght of the king Catholicke *Dom Philip*, both to guard Portugall, and keepe all the kingdome thereof vnder bridle, though he assembled all Spaine, and all his other commaund. Wherefore I am of the mind (most worthy Lord) that so soone as his Maiesty Catholicke is giuen to vnderstand, how that the King *Dom Sebastian* is come into Fraunce, he will immediatly send his Embassadours to him, and offer him the reintegration of his realme in quiet (swept cleane already of corne and chaffe) as much as to say, as without pretending any thing to him but loue and kindnesse. And I thinke his Councel wil therto aduise him, if they haue any feare of God, if they be wise, discreet, or friends to the seruice & welfare of their king. For if king *Sebastian* come with strong hand to the restitution of Portugall, no way can hinder him the entrance of Portugall, then into Castile, and from thence through all Spaine, whereby he will bring *Dom Philip* into such distresse, as doubtlesse he will go neare to make ruine of all. And when he shall come to vrge his agreement, *Dom Sebastian* not onely will bind him to pay all his dispencc, damages and wrongs endured by occasion of the warre: but likewise to restore him those reuenues and profits, which the king his father and himselfe haue hald out of Portugall, for the space of more then twenty yeares, which will amount to more then forty millions. Nay, that which is more, to destroy him, and be gratefull to his friends, and them that aided him in the recouerie of his kingdome: he will constrain him to render the realme of Nauarre to the king most Christian: that of Aragon to the Duke of Lorraine, those of Naples and Sicilie to his holinesse, and likewise to the other Princes of Europe, all that he hath held from them perforce: for the



flower they are in coming to peace and concord, the swifter ensues the great losse and mishap of Spaine.

This which I say reuerend Sir, is not in bare and simple words onely, nor shall this be the first time, that Portugall hath taught law to Castile: such as are pleased in reading histories, shall find this very true, and of many that we might report and set downe in account, we will alleadge but onely one. *Doms Peter* King of Castile, surnamed the cruell (who was slaine by his bastard brother, that came to raigne afterward, and named himselfe *Henry* the 11.) left two daughters, the first called *Constance*, the second *Isabel*, wife to *Edmond* of Langley brother to *Iohn* of Gaunt, the husband to the elder daughter *Constance*, of whom was borne a daughter named *Catharine*. The sayd *Iohn* of Gaunt, in the regard of his wife *Constance*, qualified the king of Castile and Leon, and made his direct passage from Gascoigne (which then was in the rule of the English) into Spaine, with eightene thousand foote, and two thousand horse, and tooke the Groigne, with the ayde of *Iohn* the bastard, elected King of Portugall, receiued, sworne, confirmed, and obeyed by the Portuguezes, who were to him very good friends. Thence he went on to Portugall, whence he entred into Castile, and so on to the City of Burgos, distant from the place where he parted more then twentie fixe leagues: tooke it at his arriual, and made himselfe maister of all the cities, townes and castles he came to: moreouer, they that were further off, came and for feare submitted themselves. And easily had he attained to a larger aduantage, but that his men died, who through their neglect in ordering themselves, and small prouidence in good husbandry, were overtaken by famine, whereon a pestilence ensued among them, and they were brought to such scarcety of victuals, as they were forced to run to the enemies campe, which was vnder the guide of *Lewes* Duke of Bourbon, who in fauor of king *Iohn* of Castile, came thither well accompanied with the Frēch, to request wherewithal to saue their liues. Which the sayd *Iohn* of Portugall beholding, complained to the Duke, saying, that it was not good for his souldiers to treat with the enemy, affirming that they would cause more preiudice then all the other: therefore he should repeale them presently, & forbid all community of speech with the contrary part. Otherwise when they should enter fight,  
all

all would by the edge of the sword be destroyed, the one in regard of loue to the other. *Thomas Walsingham* an English historian, deliueres it in the selfe same termes, and sayth, that the king of Portugall had with him foure thousand Portuguezes, and all of them very well armed.

Within few dayes after, certaine Embassadors sent by the king of Castile, came to the Duke, desiring peace of him in all humiliry, to whom the Duke wold giue no audience. Notwithstanding, the hunger & pestilēce did enforce him, to withdraw thēce into Portugall to the towne of Trancofo, whither they came againe seeking to him, being sent the second time from the said *Iohn* king of Castile, & to vrge once more the same request: shewing the Duke by many reasons, the great profit might be drawne out of a kind peace betweene them. The Duke then gaue them the hearing, & condiscended to their demand, although it was greatly against his will; chiefly, because he heard that the king of Portugall was willing thereto, and then (being touched therein by a more effectuall cause) namely, the intelligēce of the troubles beginning in France among the French and English, and some seditions at home in England: all which shewed him, that he could draw no fresh supplies thence, because that there seemed to be greater need, and the mortality in his army did most of all require it.

The accord betweene the King and the Duke was made in this manner. That *Henrie* eldest sonne to King *Iohn*, named Prince of Castile, should espouse *Catherine* the onely daughter of the sayd Duke *Iohn* of Gaunt, and *Constance* his wife, and should succeed in the kingdomes of Castile, Leon, and other Seignuries: that the king should endowe the mother and daughter, and so he did: giuing to the mother the citie of *Guadalajara*, *Medina del Campo* and *Olmiedo*: afterward, being with her in the sayd *Medina*, he gaue her likewise *Hueta*. To the daughter he gaue the *Esturies*, creating and naming her Princeesse, and his sonne Prince thereof. So from thence forward, the eldest sonne euer bare the surname of this principalitie: as of Daulphinies in Fraunce, of Wales in England, of Girona in Aragon, of Vienna in Nauarre, &c. Moreouer, he should give the Duke sixe hundreth thousand Franckes of gold, for his returne into England, and fortie thousand Franckes in name of rent, beside the sayd



cities and townes during the liues of him an her.

*John* of Castile accepted of all these conditions with right good will, yet he had Fraunce and the French on his side, and the King of Aragon (with whose sifter he was married, of whom was borne the sayd Prince *Dom Henrie*, and *Fernand* that after was king of Aragon, against the right of the true heires indeed) and *Charles* the III. king of Nauarre his brother: but he knew notwithstanding all these, that hauing ciuill wars in Castile, and Portugall for an enemy, fortune wold forsake him in all his realmes & Seigneuries. Thus could and can the kingdome of Portugall beare head against the rest of Spaine. It is most certaine, that at all times, and as often as Portugall hath the fauour of Fraunce, of England, or some other straunge Prince whosoeuer it be, it compels the king of Castile (to whom that is a bridle) to make him yeeld to reason, and come at commaund, nay, to accept of conditions very ignominious and preiudiciall. And those of the Duke might haue bene much more aduantageable to this agreement, if the king of Portugall had bene willing: because hauing the sword in his hand, he might haue cut out his partage at his owne pleasure. He was the Iudge, and it was done with his will: *Qui habet gladium, potest diuidere campos*. And hence it came, that the Duke departed not very well contented with him: although he gaue him in mariage his eldest daughter *Philippe*.

By this already rehearsed (worthy Lord) may be vnderstood, that they who haue not the pearles of spotted affection in their eyes, may discern, and others, whose harts are not fatted with hate to this good king, may know, that my wordes are neither bourdings nor songs. For if this King *Dom Iohn* the bastard, hauing all Spaine, all Fraunce, and some of Castile his allies banding against him, for himselfe only foure thousand Portuguezes, and some English in weake estate, and yet then suspected to, being withdrawne from Castile into Portugall, could make lawes to his enemies: what shall *Sebastian* do, accompanied with a great number of Princes of Europe, with his Portuguezes and his owne person, which degenerates not a iot from that of his graundfather *Dom Iohn* the bastard, who for his faire deedes was surnamed, Of worthy memory: against a young king, slenderly experimented, and but badly armed? It is not to be doubted but he shall

shall restore Portugall, seeing God and the propheties haue so made him promise; and that he shall cleanse and purge the Spaniards of their vices and abuses, according as *S. Isidore* hath prophesied, who since he florished, it is more then a thousand yeres. What contentment, what ioy shall the world receiue by sight hereof, and namely they that are the children of God? What felicitie for the Romane Church? What good for the weale publike of Christendome? Let the enemy iudge this cause, and (as one said in Portugall) let them cracke this nut, and know, that yet at this daye Portugall is farre stronger then Spaine, yea all Spaine in the time of the said Bastard. Then all that were souldiers, were skilful in handling the sword, the launce, the halbard and the crosse or long bow: now at this day they can not be drawne from the harquebuse or musket; for this reason the Portugals haue yet more souldiers then Spaine. Because the Castilians, yea or the Spaniards that come from the garrisons of the king of Castile, do neuer part thence but lame and maimed, except it be some of the principal Gentlemen. Of the Portugueses sent from Portugall to the East Indies, there comes backe commonly the third part of them, and of them that are scattered in diuerse places of Affricke the second part. This is most certaine, for in the beginning of the raigne of our Lord D. *Antonio*, I found a rolle of the souldiers that were to be had in Portugall, whercin it was assured me, that within the prouince d'Entre, Douro and Migno, which is called in Latine *Interamnus*, which containes no more then eightene leagues in length, & twelue in breadth at the most, three thousand old souldiers were to be found.

To this aunswere, it remaines for me yet to satisfie another obiection, which your reuered sanctitie may make vnto me, to wit, Some that haue a mightie opinion of the King of Castilles strength, would make the world beleue, that he is infinitely powerfull, and can inuade Portugall with huge numbers of souldiers. To the first point I aunswere briefly and succinctly: That the King of Castile is in no place more weake then in Spaine. To the second: Whence shall hee gather such supplies of souldiours? Shall hee furnish him selfe out of those garrisons and forces which hee hath from Spaine? Not so.



If in case he will cull out of the said garrisons some souldiers to forrage Portugall, hee must at the least haue foure moneths time to do it. In lesse then foure dayes may men passe frō Brittanie to Lisbone. Could he bring fiftie thousand men into Portugall, wherewithall wil he feed them? I would onely twentie thousand. Morcouer, what would auaille fiftie thousand souldiers in Portugal? All those being there, could not impeach the King *Don Sebastian* from landing: for Portugall hath an hundred and fortie leagues on the coast, and throughout is landing easily to be had. In some parts, they that are on land in one place cannot in a day giue succour to the other, albeit they are distant but two leagues. If king *Sebastian* did but set foote on land, all Portugall would presently run to him: by which reason, strange souldiers would be forced to yeeld themselves, or throw themselves headlong into the sea, or die with famine, or else by the hands of their enemies.

Now giue I conclusion to this present discourse, humbly beseeching your worthie Lordship, to hold excused such slips as are therein, because in the writing thereof, I haue bene driuen to some nightly houres (which could not be verie manie since I receiued your last letter) for so long a certification by pen, and but that I was enioyned thereto by your expresse commaund, I could gladly haue excused my selfe from so tedious a trauel. But the honors and graces receiued from so worthie a person, haue bene so great, and continued in such sort, as they bound me to obey without all excuse. If my pen haue erred in anie point (whereof I doubt not) this hope is left me, that one day I may giue your Lordship more ample, certaine & assured satisfaction, in all whatsoever shall please you to require. I write in the Castilian language, because your worthie selfe did so commaund me, and in regard you take some delight therein, as it hath bene often told me. But should I confesse the truth, my loue would much more haue forwarded me, & rather haue had me to write in my natie Portuguese. Our Lord gard and giue prosperity to a personage of such honor. From Lions the 6. of Ianuary. 1601.

*The most humble orator and seruant  
to your worthy Lordship,*

*Frier Ioseph Texere Portuguese.*

*The*

*The copie of another Letter from the said  
father Frier Ioseph, to the same Bishop.*

**M**Ost worthie Lord (*habita benedictione*) being since the 23 of this instant moneth, dispatched with passport from his Maiestie most Christian, and the worthie Legate *Aldobrandino* for my passage into Italie about affaires of mine Order, & some of mine owne in particular, with fundrie letters of fauor for Venice, for Rome and other places: furnished with all things needfull for my voyage, I departed not till the 24, because it was the euen of Christmas, (I had receiued the 22. your Lordships letter, whereto I made no answer till the 6. and then gaue it to my Lord your nephew, who is not hence departed as yet.) And as I thought to depart on the Sondag after the feasts, I could not do it, by reason we had intelligence, that on the way of Lions were disbanded souldiers of the Swizzers, who robbed and ill intreated all passengers. Hereupon, I made account to depart in the companie of my Lord *Monsieur de Sancy*, who trauelled to the Fort of S. Catherine. The said Lord being hindred by his busineses, made me to attend from day to day, till the Sondag following, the 7. of this instant: and yet our parting was put off from Sondag to Monday. It seemes that God had so appointed it, to the end I should not throw my selfe into danger, nor the incommodities of the season, neither vndertake a iourney to no ende. For on the same Sondag, when we had resolved without faile to depart thence, about the seuenth houre of night, I receiued letters from Venice, wherby I was aduertised, that the king of Portugal *Don Sebastian* my Lord, was set at liberty. And at the ninth houre of the same night, came a Gentleman to my lodging, one of my friends and acquaintance, with him a Page belonging to a Lord my friend likewise, carying a lighted torch; which Gentleman told me on the behalfe of the said Lord, that he had also receiued letters from Venice, wherein were some newes that he desired to acquaint me withall. I tooke my cloake, and went to see him in his lodging, where he confirmed to me the same tydings. And parting thence after ten a clock, I went to visit another Lord, who, at the first sight of me, said: I verie well know



what you come to tell me. Suddenly he againe ratified the former newes, discoursing the to me by diuerse particularities; that the said king was so parted thence; that he went to embarke himselfe at Liurne for passage to Marseilles, and from Marseilles to this Court: that there came in his companie the Lord *Christophero*, youngest sonne to the decessed King *D. Antonio*, and *D. Iohn de Castro*, of whom one had written to him, that at the sight of the king *D. Sebastian* he stood much amazed: but comming to better consideration, threw himselfe suddenly at his feete, and called him his Lord and King.

On the next day, came in publike very many letters, all grounded vpon this subiect onely. The ioy and gladnesse was so great among the Princes, & euery where in the Court, with the Princesses, Ladies and Gentlewomen, great and small, noble and vn-noble, Ecclesiasticall and regulars, as I cannot expresse to your worthinesse. My Lord, your nephew both heard and saw all, he can report it as an eye witnes, what ke thinks of the forward wils & desires, which he beheld in the Princes, Lords & Gentlemen. All coniointly offred their persons, their means & abilities in the seruice of this king, who the most part of such as had written of him from Venice, Padoa, & other parts, gaue the name of holy.

Surely I dare affirme thus much vnto you, as a matter certaine and not to be doubted, that if this king my Lord come into this kingdome, as we alreadie are aduertised: his Maiestie most Christian, with all his power and authoritie, can hardly hinder the Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, Souldiers; what should I say? the Priests, Monkes, Merchants, Mecanicks; the Pilots and Mariners, from assisting with their seruice this Prince.

My Lord, I haue euery day hardly passed to and fro from my lodging, for in the streets some call me, others meet me, & some ready to teare the very cloake off my backe. Such as heretofore were incredulous, & made a mockery hereof, are those that now lift their hands highest to heauen, and come to make the largest offers: *Res miranda*. Euery day we haue here nothing but false allarmes, for so soone as some foure or five men are seene to come on horsebacke, immediatly it is the King *Sebastian*, men, women and children run out of the Citie to meete him. In brief, the ioy, the contentment, and the desire of this Princes arriuall  
is



is so great, yes, in all persons without anie difference, as if he were giuen as an onely remedie, to the trauailes and miseries of this present age. And that it may proue so, if auncient prophesies deceiue vs not, all Christendome hath reason to hope much, of prosperitie and welfare by the meanes of this holy King.

The newes that I haue, how he was set at libertie, are these. After that the Portuguezes had obtained audience of the Senate, which the Lords granted them with benigne and readie will: *Diego Mannell* arriued there from France, and *Sebastian Fignera* from the States of Holland, with letters in fauour of this affaire, as elswhere you haue heard before, and from Rome the Lord *Dom Christophero*, with *Manuel de Brito Pimentel*, *Pantaleon Pessoa de Neyua*, and *Frances Antoine*, with whom there ioyned manie Portugueses more, that came from diuers parts. The eleuenth of this moneth past, the Lords entred into Councell (which they there terme Pregay) where commonly you shall haue two hundred Lords of the chieft of that Seigneurie. The Pregay held for the space of soure daies. On the last, which was the instant about ten of the clock in the night, the Lords concluded on their last resolution in this case. They caused the prisoner to be brought, and commanded a Secretarie to set down this determination following.

Because he names himselfe to be the King of Portugall *Dom Sebastian*, he is commanded out of this Citie within one day, and from the parts belonging to this Seigneurie within three daies more; on paine of commitment to the gallies for the space of ten yeeres, with yron gyues at his feete. But if his indisposition of bodie cannot suffer this paine: then he stands condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Moreouer, for punishment of his disobedience committed, in not departing the lands belonging to the State at the time when by commaundement of the podestate of Padoa he was so enioyned, they had alreadie giuen him these two yeeres and 22. daies imprisonment, since the contempt.

The sentence pronouced, he was immediatly set at libertie; betweene eleuen and twelue of the clocke in the night. Some letters from certaine of Italie, speaking in this manner, say: This was but a boxe of coriander comfites, to please the Spaniard withall, because he is their neighbour: the gazetes affirme the same.



A French Archbishop resident in those quarters, a man of yeeres, great authoritie and vertue, writing in his own language, to one of his friends dwelling in this citie: *The Portuguezes* (saith he) *that were here to demand their King, in the end had him, knew him, saluted him, and caried him hence. The first signe of acknowledgement giuen by them, was, that he had one hand longer then the other. The Lords of this Seignery thinke they dealt wisely, in washing their hands of him.*

The king went from the Senate (without anie suffered to keep him companie) and came all alone to the house of one maister *Fraunces* his ancent host, a Greeke by birth, with whom he found lodged two gentlemen Portuguezes, *Rodrigo Marques* and *Sebastian Figuera*. These men hauing well beheld and noted him, albeit they found him mightily changed, and differing from him whom they saw in Affrick on the battaile day; yet they knew him. *Marques* ran speedily to the lodgings of the Lord *Dom Cristophero*, and of *Dom Iohn de Castro*, to aduertise them of what had hapned: the king remained in conferēce of Portugal affaires with *Figuera*. It wasthought good to remoue the king out of that house and to lodge him where *D. Iohn* lay, as being more capable and lesse publique. Then came the Lord *Dom Christophero*, and the three Portuguezes that came with him from Rome, to see him, and all the three knew the king: *Mannel de Bruto* hauing seen him in Portugall, *Pantaleon Pessoa* and *Frances Antoine*, hauing likewise seene him in Portugal, and since then in the day of *Affricke*. These Portugueses being thus come to the lodging of *D. Iohn*, with whom *Diego Manuel* abode, the king in presence of some strangers, tooke occasion of speech with them in this manner:

Portuguezes, you haue done a verie great good to your countrie, and a seruice verie signall to me that am your Lord and king: you are my vassalles and subiects, and seeing you haue performed what you ought, both in your respect to God and your owne obliged dutie, you shal not find me ingrateful for it; I am your father, and you shal be my children. Now that I am in your hands, I pray you order your proceedings with discretion; because you stand bound to satisfie such as shal question you, how you know me for your Lord and king. And if you find that I am not he, but an abuser, chastice me accordingly, throw me into the sea. There are  
some

some amōg you possessed with writings of the marks which I haue on my bodie, as well those secret, as the other apparant : them the father doctor de *Sampayo*, and the Channon brought from Portugall proued authentically by publique instruments of credite from the Notaries Apostolique. I know those instruments to be made iudicially, and witnessed by persons of qualitie that nursed me, and manie times saw me naked when I was a child. Behold I pray you for your owne satisfying, whether it be so, that I haue al those markes or no.

And as he would haue vnclothed himself, to be more perfectly knowne to them, the Portuguezes would not suffer him, but desired that he would discourse to them some matter of his aduentures. Where to he replied, that he would therein resolute them another time, in meane while, he requested them to pleasure him so much, as to tell him some newes of his friends and countrie. Hereupon he began to enquire of *Dom Iohn de Castro*, concerning his brethren, his vncles and other kinred : of *Dom Christophero*, for his brother *Dom Emanuel*. And after he had conferred a long while with him, well considering and noting his face and countenance: *You resemble very much Dom Antonio your father* (quoth he to him) *but I pray God giue you grace to resemble in deedes your Grandfather the infant Dom Lewes Duke of Beja.*

Here we haue manie things (worthie Sir) to speake of, and let me tell you, that this king neuer loued some actions of the Lord *Dom Antonio* (who was cousin germaine to his father the Prince *D. Iohn*) because he was a man addicted to women, loſtie, somewhat vnquiet, and he had demaunded of the Queene *D. Catharine*, and of the Cardinal *D. Henriques* brother to his grandfather the king *D. Iohn*, and to the infant *D. Lewes*, father to *Antonio*, somewhat that they would not giue him, as finding they were not so much beholding to him. Some few daies before he departed on his *Affrick* voyage, in verie much choler he had some sharp and rough speech with *Dom Antonio* : and thereupon the said Lord was not shipped in the same Gallion with the king, but in that of *Dom Alphonso*, de Portugall, Earle of Vimieuse (father to *D. Frances* de Portugall, who came into France with the title of Constable) to whom he was a verie great friend. So much for the Lord *Dom Antonio* : and so much likewise for the infant, whom



king *D. Sebastian* neuer knew (for when he died in the end of the yeere 1555. *Sebastian* was but two yeeres olde) he was a Prince verie great in vertue and wisedome, of whom *Duarte Nunes de Leon*, albeit in the booke he writ against me, he speakes euill of al: yet of him he saies well enough. This infant was a Prince verie mightie, valiant, practised in the art militarie, addicted to armes, an excellent horseman, loued hunting, and the Mathematiques; godly, religious. And being endued with so manie rare and heroi-call vertues, the Princes and counsell of the Realme of England, requested and made choise of him to ioyne in mariage with *Mary* their Queene, to reigne with her ouer them. In summe, this infant was so wise, discreete and skilfull, as anie prince could not bee accomplished with better partes. For this King *Sebastian*, although he knew nim not, but by fame only: yet he respected his name greatly, loued and made reckening of his actions.

Now your Lorpship may consider how proper these wordes are to the King *Dom Sebastian*. After two and twentie yeeres and more, he discovered in publique, what he had kept hidden in his owne breast, and which could not be manifested by anie other, then by himselfe onely, because God alone knowes the inward thoughts of men. He hath made knowne to diuers, the markes of wounds receiued on his head in the battaile of *Affricke*, causing them to put their fingers therein, and to them shewed beside the other signes naturally characterized on his bodie. Thus spent he about foure houres space with the said Portuguezes, demanding diuers matters of them, shewing himselfe so familiar and friendly, as he respected each of them verie choicely and louingly. But yet he left not off the cariage of royall maiestie, which seemed in him no lesse, then if he were sitting in his seate of iustice with the crowne on his head, and scepter in his hand, in the citie of *Lisbone*. Afterward, when euerie one was withdrawne to his rest, he went and fell on his knees before a Crucifix, which he ware in his bosome, where he so continued, till one came to call him on his journey.

Some haue written to me, that since he hath beene seene among his Portuguezes, he hath made good appearance, that he is effectually of their nation, profferring in all perfection the words



words he pronounced: and if any one of them that parleyed with him, intermedled any French words among the rest (because the most part of them had liued in Fraunce, and spake the French language) he would tell them of it: so that yet he seemes better to vnderstand that tongue, then speake it. One writes likewise, that he saith, the armour he ware is hid in a certaine place. That the duke de *Aueyro*, the Earles of Redondo, and of Sortella, *D. Fernand de Meneses*, and *D. Iohn de Castro*, cosin germaine to him whom we haue so often named, are all yet aliue, that he very wel knowes where they are, & so soone as he shal haue commodious means, he will send to the. *Christophero de Tauora* was slaine before his eies by certain robbers, that set vpō the as they iourneyed.

*Dom Iohn de Castro* writ in a letter to me, that his face is now much altered from the forme it had at his parting in Affricke. As for the small wrinkles in his face, those he knew very perfectly, so likewise did *Sebastian Figuera*; the Father de *Sampayo*, *Pantaleon Pessoa*, *Frances Antoine* and other Portuguezes, beside sundrie straungers, that had seene him and knew him when he was in Portugall. And as for his gate or cariage of his bodie, it is the verie same without any altering. Moreover, that he departed from Venice in the time assigned him, and is comming for Fraunce, himselfe with others being on the way with him. He praies me to order my businesse in sort, that I would be present in the Court of his most Christian Maiestie, attending this aduenture so strange and maruellous: so farre the letter.

For this cause (worthie Lord) and in respect, whether he come by sea or land, or whether he will passe for Holland from hence: I am determind not to be absent, till I haue seene him here, or vnderstand he hath taken some other course. If I should do otherwise, I thinke the world would repute me a bad seruant to my King, and an enemy to my true and soueraigne Lord. But I find there are some, moued (by what diuels I know not) that labour still to perswade me, and would perforce make me to beleue, although these newes are so true, publique and certaine, yet that this King of Portugall *Dom Sebastian*, is no other then a Calabrois. But as that language is engendred and borne from the wombe of a Castillian, so I answer such kind of men, that it is behoouefull for them to knowe, I am more bound to credite



infinite noble, and religious persons, who by letters written and sealed by their owne hands, as also by their oathes, haue assured me, that the prisoner set at libertie by the Lords of Venice, is our true king of Portugall *Dom Sebastian*; then to be led by any Castilian opinions.

It is a terrible thing to see and heare the goodly reasons alleaged by these wise maisters, to vnderprop their false and depraued intentions. It contenteth vs, that he is swart, and that the King *Dom Sebastian* was faire; that he speakes not Portugueze, &c. To such as haue no interest at all in this matter, but (with a purposed malice) yeeld themselves enemies to this truth: what imports it them, whether a man blacke or white should be King of Portugal? and whether he speakes Portugueze or Italian? It sufficeth, that a man as white as snowe, passeth the Equinoctiall line on the coast of Guinea; that he performes the voyage of *Saint Thomas*, or to any other part wheresocuer he pleaseth of *Ethiopia*, or that sojournes sundrie yeares in Barbarie, may become as blacke as pitch, for the more white a man is, the sooner he becomes the blacker. We vnderstand that the king *Dom Sebastian* hath bene in *Ethiopia* and in *Persia*: where if he haue lost his whitenesse and proper colour, it is not a thing to be wondred at.

Whosoeuer hath knowne the Lord *Dom Christophere* (reuerend Lord) youngest sonne to the deceased king *Dom Antonio*, from his infancie, till he came to the age of 18. yeares, for so old he was when he vndertooke his voyage to Barbarie, will confesse with me that he was then as white as milke, faire and neatly fauoured; but little more then three yeares when he liued in Barbarie, were sufficient to make him become so black, swartie and deformed, that at his returne to England whence he had parted before, euen those that had bene most frequent with him, could not know him. He arriued in Barbarie in the beginning of the yeare, 1589. and came againe into England in 1592. at which time I was in Fraunce. Then afterward he came to Paris, in the end of the yeare, 1594. on Christmas euen after dinner, at what time I was playing at Chesse with the king his father, in the street of *S. Honore*, where he lodged at the Swan. So soone as the newes came to his father, that he was beneath in the court, I craued leaue to goe see him; and descending the staires, I passed by him not knowing him



him, and went to talke with *Dom Iohn de Castro*, and *Scipio de Figueredo*, who had come with him from England, demanding newes of them of the said Lord *Dom Christophero*; they told me that that was he whome I had met and passed by. I sweare to your Lordship, that hearing those words, I stood as rapt out of my selfe, to see him so deformed and chaunged, and the others by no meanes could perswade me that it was he. I sweare againe to your worthinesse, as a Christian, an honest man, and religious as I am, that I was so angrie to behold him thus chaunged, having lost the goodly complexion he had before, as I was in an houre in a roome beneath by my selfe, and would neither see nor speake with him: hereof I haue store of good witness yet to this day.

If little more then three yeares had so much power, so strangely to alter the Lord *Dom Christophero*, how much more may a boue twentie yeares, chaunge the king *Dom Sebastian*? Let this suffice to answer the ignorant and malicious. As for his speaking Portugueze: who hath examined him? not I certainly, nor any other Portugueze semblable to me. He speakes a mixed kind of Portugueze (my good Lord) according as *Dom Iohn de Castro* writes to me in his last letter. As for his writing, it is the same, and the selfe same hand: I haue scene many memories and papers written by him, which being conferred with the other that he writte before his passage to Affricke, the one and other doe truely agree. For the rest, when the King *Dom Sebastian* shall be in good estate, though he speake not Portugueze, I will hold him excused; considering it is more then twenty years that he hath bene soorth of his country, and still trauelled among straungers.

In this citie of Lyons, among the Spanish Comedians, there is a Portugueze aged about some thirtie yeares, a man well born, learned, and speakes the Latin tongue very well, the place of his birth not farre from mine: from him I could neuer get one Portugueze word, yet speakes he as perfect Castilian, as if he had bene borne and brought vp in the Court of Madrill: and it is but five yeares since he hath bene absent from his owne countrey, where he forsooke his kindred, some of them being well knowne to me. We haue an hundred thousand like examples through all



nations, and it is a thing so common, as there can neuer want due  
proofe thereof. But I will not spare to speake this as truth, if the  
king *Dom Sebastian*, or any other Portugueze whatsoever, ha-  
uing lost the vse of his Portugall language: by being conuersant  
among his countrey men, come not againe to the recouerie there-  
of, he shall pardon me then to be suspitious of him. By meanes  
enough a man may easily grow into heate, (my Lord) reproving  
false opinions, and restrayning the audacious courses of people  
transported with passions: therefore whosoever will speake truth,  
let him say, that my Lord *Dom Sebastian* king of Portugall, is no  
Calabrois. But the very selfe same king, who in the yeare, 1578.  
made his voyage into Affrick, in fauour of *Muley Mahamet Xa-  
rifa*, mooued by the offers which were made vnto him, for the  
aduantage and weale publique of all Christendome. This doth  
appeare plaine to the eye, by those things whereon he hath trea-  
ted with the Portuguezes and other strangers, before he was im-  
prisoned, in the prison, and afterward abroad: and verifies it selfe  
as well by the markes secret as apparant, which he beares on his  
bodie, and which I will translate to you at the end of this let-  
ter.

For the rest, to close vp this last answer, I cannot chuse but  
make my complaint to your reuerend worthinesse, of these med-  
ling Messieurs, that tearme my Lord and king to be a Calabrois.  
It is now two yeares and more since they haue liued in this error,  
and are as strong headed in this opinion now, as they were the  
first day. Turely Sir, when I but thinke hereon, I can hardly  
keepe my coole blood from warming, for I neuer saw any one of  
these Gallants that would say to me: He is of such a territorie, such  
a mans sonne, or kin to such a one: he hath liued among such, &c.  
considering Calabria is in subiection to his Maiestie Catho-  
lique, who for this reason onely might send through all that  
countrey, and enquire of his qualitie and originall, as being his  
subiect: that they will not do so much at one time or other, this  
much afflicteth me.

Now Sir remaines an answer to an obiection of the enemye,  
who to stubber, baffle, and annihilate a matter so certaine,  
as this of the true King *Dom Sebastian*, say, that this fellowe  
is not the first deceiuer: but in Flaunders there was a *Baldwin*,



in Fraunce a *Martin Guerre*, &c. I can very well (as one that hath read some histories) helpe such kind of people to proue their intentions, remembering them of the names and deedes of some impostors: setting apart the *Neroes* and others, as *Smerdis* the *Mago* king of the *Persians*, the false *Alexander* of *Syria*, sonne to *Protarcus* a man of base condition: *Lambert Symnell*, who named himselfe *Edward* the fift king of *England*, and sonne to *Edward* the fourth, *Peter Warbecke*, whom the *English* call *Periquin*, or *Perkin*, who needs would be *Richard* younger brother to the sayd *Edward*, and others. But the fact and proceeding of these, differed greatly from the examen and true square of *King Dom Sebastian*: also the meanes and respects whereby they presumed for kings titles, caried another habite then this of *king Sebastians*. Concerning *Baldwin* and *Martin Guerre*, their iuglings were discovered in very few daies: so fel it out with *Smerdis*, for *Phadimia* the daughter of *Otanes*, disproued him quickly by his short eares: and so was he knowne to be *Mago*, brother to *Cantizites*, & not for *Smerdes* the son of *Cyrus*. The false *Alexander*, an *Egyptian* by nation, was brought in by *Ptolomie Euergetes*, against *Demetrius* the younger. *Lambert Symnell* was prouoked on by great men of *England*, to terme himselfe a king, against *Henry* the seventh, of whom they could not endure the gouernement. *Peter Warbecke*, a natiue of *Townnay*, by the meanes and fauour of *Margaret Duchesse* of *Burgundie*, second wife to *Charles* the warriour: named himselfe *Richard*, youngest sonne to *King Edward* the fourth, and by her bare himselfe against the sayd king *Henrie*.

But *King Sebastian* is risen in another kind of degree, without ayde, without fauour, not assisted by any Prince, poore and miserable, armed onely with his truth, and the conduct of God: and yet we hope he shall not want helpe for the recouerie of his kingdome. This is then sufficient to answer those questionarie contriuers. As for their demaund to me, where he hath had abiding for so many yeares, and why he spared to make himselfe manifest: himselfe one day (when it pleaseth God) will therein resolute vs. It is no new thing to heare of a man, that haue not bene heard of for many yeares. I thinke there is at this day a dozen of men in *Fraunce*, that haue come home againe amongst



their friends, after their being abroad for the space of twentie or 25. nay 30. yeares, without any newes once heard of them during all their absence. If I would number them (Sir) who haue bene compeld to verifie themselves, for such as they maintained themselves to be, I should make a discourse more ample, then that which I gaue to my Lord your nephew.

Were the decrees of the Parliaments in Fraunce looked ouer, infinite would be found therein, of whom I find it no way inconuenient to nominate some. As the Lord of *Boisgarnier*, a native Gentleman of Maïsse: and next him his sonne the Lord of Dampierre neare io Gyan: the Lord of Morinville, called *Courtenay*, issued of the royall house of *Dreux*, and other who haue had paine and labour enough in making themselves to be knowne.

Hauiing thus answered these obiections, I will conclude, assuring your worthinesse, that being obliged by so many testimonies and markes of truth, I thinke that not onely my selfe, but euen a Castilian, should commit a mighty trespassse against the holy Ghost, in not beleeuing this for a verity. Our Lord giue accomplishment to my desires, and so soone as he shall be arriued, I will make a speedy imparting to your worthy selfe, of all the pleasures and contentments I receiue. This shall be the end of my trauerses and miserable fortunes: this shall be the beginning of my glory and felicity, where our Lord giue you ample perfection. *in eternum*. From Lions the 12. of Ianuary M D C I.

*Kissing the hands of your reuerend  
Lordship: your deuoted seruant:*

Frier Ioseph Texere Portugueze.

*The markes and signes which the King of  
Portugall Dom Sebastian beares natu-  
rally on his body.*

1. **H**E hath the right hand greater then the left.
2. **H**E The right arme longer then the left.

3. The



3. The body from the shoulders to the girdle-tied is so short, as his doublet can serue none other but himselfe onely.
4. From the girdle-tied downe to the knees he is very long.
5. The right legge is longer then the left.
6. The right foote greater then the other.
7. The toes almost equall.
8. On the little toe of the right foote he hath a wart so increasing, as it appears to be like a sixt toe.
9. The instep or necke of the foote, very high raised vp.
10. On the one shoulder is a scale or marke, of the greatnesse of a Vinten of Portugall: such a peece of money as a French peece of three blankes, the very least and auncientest.
11. On the right shoulder toward the chine of the necke, he hath a blacke scarre, of the largenesse of ones little nail.
12. He hath little pimples on his face and hands, and very apparant: but such as knowes it not cannot discerne them.
13. He hath the left side of his body shorter then the right, so that he halts a little without any percciuing.
14. He lackes one tooth on the right side, in the neather iaw.
15. He hath the fluxe of seed, or Gonorrhoea.
16. He doth abound in a signall very secret, that is to be spoken of when need shall require.
17. Besides these secrets and signes, he hath many other which may easily be seene: as the fingers of the hands long, and the nailer likewise.
18. The lip of Austriche; like his graundfather *Charles* the fift Emperour, father to his mother, and of his graundmother *Catherine* Queene of Portugall, mother to his father, sister to the sayd *Charles* the fift.
19. His feete little, and his legs crooked, &c. All these markes were borne with him.
20. He hath many markes of the harquebuze on his left arme, which he receiued in the battell of Affricke.
21. Another marke or wound vpon the head.
22. Another vpon the right eye-brow.



*The copie of a letter written by a Gentle-  
man a Portuguese, to the most excellent Prince,  
the Lord Dom Emanuell, sonne to the Lord Dom  
Antonio, ele A king of Portugall, abiding at  
Dort in Holland.*

Done out of Portuguese into Castillian, out of  
Castillian into French, and lastly out of  
*French into English.*

**M**OST excellent Lord, in the separation which was made at  
Florence of the Portuguezes, who had at Venice procu-  
red the delluerance and freedome of the King of Portugall *Dom  
Sebastian* our Lord: the choise for Fraunce was committed to my  
Lord *Dom Christophere* your brother, *Dom Iohn de Castro*,  
*Diego Manuell* and *Frances Antoine*, they went by the way of  
Liuorne, and from thence intended to go to *Marseilles*. *Manuell  
de Brito*, and *Sebastian Figuera*, they went for Rome, frier *Chry-  
sostome* for Parma, frier *Stephen de Sampayo*, and *Rodrigo Mar-  
ques* tooke another course, as all the others did. My direction was  
for the States of Holland, whither it was not possible for me to  
passe by Germany, in regard of the reasons you shall reade in this  
discourse. *Sebastian Figuera* told vs, that he had written to you  
at large the whole passage, touching the King our Lord and vs, &  
sent his letters by the ordinary way of Lions. Now because it may  
so fall out, that those letters are not as yet arriued at you, or might  
perhaps be lost by the way: I determined with my selfe, in regard  
they may be with you in fewer dayes, then I can come to see your  
Excellency, to giue you aduertisement by these letters, of all the  
whole passages since we arriued at Venice.

The Lord *Dom Christophere* being at Rome, had intelligence  
by letters from Doctor *Sampayo* and other Lords, how needfull  
it was for him to succor the affaires of our Lord the king *Dom Se-  
bastian*. For which cause he left Rome, bringing in his company  
*Manuell de Brito* & my selfe: *Frances Antoine* came vnto vs the



18. of Nouēber, the 28. we arriued at Venice, where being with other Portuguezes, we were enformed of the businesse, and what was expedient to be done for him. Certaine daies after, the Lord *Dom Christophero* required audience, which was giuen him on Monday the 11. of December. Before he entred to the Senate, he was cauled to sit downe without, in a chamber richly hung with tapistrie, where he attended till he should be called in. They gaue him the seate on the right hand of the Prince, & speaking to him, termed him *Illustrissimae*: when these courtesies had bin done him, he gaue in writing what he desired.

The same day, the Prince, with aboue two hundred of the principall Seigneurs of that State, entred to Councell, touching the matter of the king *D. Sebastian* our Lord: this assembly is called the Pregay, there they determine of matters graue and important. The Tuesday following, the Pregay held againe for the same cause. The wednesday being S. Lucies day, the Pregay held not at all, because they then made election of an Attourney. They sate againe the Thursday, and the Friday following the case was concluded. At night after ten a clocke, the King our Lord was called to the Senate, where to him was intimated, the selfe intimation which had bene made to him by the Podesstate of Padoa, the yeare 1598. It is said, that when the king entred the Senate, and while the decree of his sentence was reading, all the Seigneurs were vp on their feete, and noted him with very much respect. The king being gone from the Senate, went presently, without admitting the companie of any one, (though many made offer of themselves) to the lodging of his first host, maister *Frances*, where I had diuerse times scene him before his imprisonment.

Thither came *Rodrigo Marques*, and *Sebastian Figuera*, who at first sight of him was much astonished, because he found him verie different from him whome he had scene in Portugall, and in Barbarie the verie same day of our ouerthrowe, flying foure leagues distance from the field of battaile. But when he had well considered the forme of his face, the dimples, the browe, the eyes, nose, and Austrich lippe, (which is not now so plumpe, as when he was in Portugall, because then he was in good plight, and now verie meagre) his



gate, speech, and the other parts of his bodie: he suddenly sent *Rodrigo Marques*, to aduertise the Lord *Dom Christophere* thereof, and the other Portugueses. They thought it meete, that the King should bee brought to the lodging of *Don Iohn de Castro* and *Diego Manuel*, as being a house more retired from the peoples haunt of the Citie, then that belonging to Maister *Frances*; and so it was done. Thither resorted all the Portugueses, except the father Doctor *Sampayo*, and Frier *Chrysostome*, who being ouerlated, went to the Monasterie of *S. Dominicke*, which is of the aduocation (as I thinke) of *S. Iohn* and *S. Paule* Martyrs, and brethren: neither was there the Chanon, nor the Archdeacon, who was gone to Rome.

As the King sawe vs all there together, he prayed vs that we would examine him, and know if he were the true king of Portugall *Don Sebastian* or no, and he would haue vnclothed himselfe, to shew vs the secret marks of his bodie: which we would not suffer, because *Don Iohn de Castro* had already known him sufficiently, and principally by his speech (for as he beganne to speake, his voice was somewhat low yet verie strong, & in continuing rose higher and higher, as it euer did in Portugall) so did *Frances* & *Antoine* likewise. Hee perceiuing that wee would not permit him to discouer his nakednesse, shewed vs the right hand longer then the left: the arme so to; afterward his shoulders to the girdlested; and from his girdlested to the knees, his legs and feete. And to make it more apparant, that he was shorter of all the parts left then on the right, he kneeled downe, commaunding vs to marke him verie diligently; and we saw, that without all doubting, the sayd left part of his bodie was shorter more by a fingers breadth then the right. Then he prayed *Diego Manuel* to giue him a booke, or else a pantofle (which was nearest hand) and putting it vnder his left knee, then it made his bodie vpright. We saw the pimples in his face and hands, the hurt that he had on the right eye-brow, and let euerie one in the compaignie touch the wound in his head with their fingers. Afterward he shewed vs the place where he wanted the tooth in the right iaw beneath, and we know very well, that *Sebastian Neto* his barber, had thence drawne it foorth; of whom himselfe enquired verie particularly.

After



After he had long time held discourse with vs, in common and seuerally of diuerse matters, we intreated him to eate something: but he answered, that because it was Friday, hee would not so much as make a collation, but only would fast with bread and water, and meant not to breake that fast, for he was thereto obliged by a vowe. Hereupon we intreated him to take his rest, but we could not obtaine so much of him: all that he would then permit vs to do about him, was to pull off his shooes, to warme him. I pulled off the right, and presently passed my hand along the toes, where I felt the wart on the litle toe, which is so great, as it makes a resemblance of a sixt toe. Furthermore we desired him to do vs so much grace, as to tell vs somewhat of his fortunes, whereto he answered; That he had liued euermore in trauell, in miserie and pouertie; but the talke thereof we should referre till another time, and tell him some tidings of his friends, & of such things which as the might giue him pleasure to heare. Then he began to view vs verie earnestly one after another, and seeing vs habited of diuerse fashions and colours, because some were attired after the French, others like Hollanders, some Italian like, and *Frances Antoine* as a Pilgrime, with his walking staffe in his hand: he began to say smiling, *Tanto trage?* So manie sorts? which he spake with such a grace, as comforted and greatly gladded vs to heare; and those of vs that had perfectly knowne him before, saw in this verie act, that he was our true Lord and King *Dom Sebastian*.

He then enquired of the Lord *Dom Christophero*, concerning your Excellencie; of *D. Iohn de Castro* touching his brethren, & particularly of Frier *Fernand*, a Religious of Saint *Dominique*, beside, concerning his vncles and kindred. Then of all in generall, for the Ladie *Domne Catherine* his aunt Duchesse of *Bragancia*, and the Duke her sonne, telling vs, that when he made the Affrick voyage with him, he was verie litle, but faire (the said duke hauing not then accomplished 11. yeares.) Then he enquired likewise of his Pallace de la Ribera; of *Euchobregas*, of *Castillo*; and principally of those de Santos le vieil (which I thinke did belong to the father of Dom Iohn, or else to his grandfather Dom Iohn de Castro) whether they were found, enlarged, or destroyed? He verie much loued the situation thereof, as being



healthfull, on the sea, without and within the towne, and in a verie faire prospect. Moreover, he would be enformed of the tower of S. Iohn, and whether the Castilians had built any Fort on the Teste-seche or no. He demaunded of vs if they kept still at Lisbon the generall procession, on *S. Sebastians* day, which tooke beginning from the day of his birth. They come forth of the parish of Saint Iohn, and then go to the church of S. Vincent de Fuera, which church is a parish, and likewise a Monasterie of Chanons regulars of Saint Augustine, and therein is an arme of Saint Sebastian.

He enquired also of *D. Theotónio de Bragança*, who at this day is Archbishop of Evora, brother to the grandfather of him that is Duke now: of *Dom Alphonso de Castello-blanco* his Almoner, who now is Bishop of Coimbre: of *Dom Fernand de Meneses*, surnamed *Bouche-ouverte*, otherwise *Gobe-mouches*, or Wide-mouth: of *Dom Lewes Perera de Evora*, godfather to *Dom Iohn de Castro*, and a cousin germane of ours: and for many others: naming their names, the places of their abiding, the charges that they had: giuing such notable ensignes of them, and so extraordinarily, as it rapt vs all into exceeding admiration.

The like he did of Ladies, among whom he named *Domne Maria de Alcaçona*, daughter to *Peter d'Alcaçona*, Earle of *las Idagnas*, and chiefe Secretarie of Portugall: who was wife to *Dom Aluaro de Mello*, sonne to the eldest sonne of *Dom Aluaro* Marquesse of Ferrara, which *Dom Aluaro de Mello* remained in the Affricke iourney. This Ladie his wife *Domne Maria* (according as I haue heard) was one of the fairest, gallantest, best disposed, honest and most vertuous Ladies of Portugall. He asked much newes of the Sisters of *Christophero de Tanora*, and other Ladies, the names of whom I do not remember. For when I went in the Affricke voyage with the said King, I was but a young ladde, no other then a Page, wherby I could not haue the knowledge of many persons. All which things he demaunded of vs, with the grace of as royall authoritie, as if it had bene in the yeare 1578. (when he set forward on his voyage to Affricke) and in his pallace of Ribera at Lisbon; and with as much simplicitie did he proceed in all, and through all,



all, plainly, without fraude, cauillation or heate, as it had bene an infant of ten yeeres old.

When he had awhile well noted the Lord *Dom Christophero* your brother, he said vnto him : You resemble verie much *Dom Antonio* your father, but I pray God (in deeds) you may resemble your grandfather the infant *Dom Lewes Duke of Beja* ; in steed of saying *Beja*. He pronounceth what he speakes in Portuguese, but makes a mixture of other strange words there amongst, or by the breaking of diuers sillables. As, when he spake to vs of France, he would vsually say *Franca*. And we would say : Sir, in Portuguese, we say *França*. How? quoth he, doe not we say in Portuguese, *Villa-franca, Paramanca, &c*? In like maner as when we intermeddle some French word among our Portuguese, we shall and do rellish it, because we haue bene in France, and know how to speake French, and so by custome fal into the same blame he doth.

We spent three houres and more with his Maiestie in these discourings, after which, the Lord *Dom Christophero* and others withdrew themselves, and he remained with *D. Iohn* and *Diego Manuel*: who likewise stept aside into another chamber, leauing him alone where he had bene, to the end he might repose himselfe, because he had not slept in all the night before; but in steede of sleeping, he fell to prayer. Before we left him, he offered to pull on his shooes; *D. Iohn* made offer, but could not, albeit he tooke paines enough : nor likewise *Diego Manuel* after *D. Iohn*, because the insteppe of his foote was so high, as it required much better strength to pull them on. He seeing that they could not attaine it, set his foote vpon a stoole, and pluckt it on himselfe verie easily : a verie certaine testimonie of his naturall strength, and a verifying of that which is saide among the markes of his bodie.

The father *de Sampayo* and Frier *Chrysostome* staid not long before they came, who with the King and *D. Iohn*, thought good to haue him out of that house (because the people began now to make a murmuring and grumbling, euerie one being verie desirous to see him) & to conuey him to the couent of *S. Dominick*. So did himselfe likewise desire, not only to part thence, but quite out of Venice : and that they would resolue themselves, which way were best to take for auoyding the countrie. *D. Iohn* and *Dis-*



go *Manuell* went on with him, the said fathers hasting before to *S. Dominickes*, and leaving him there, all foure went to the lodging of the Lord *D. Christophero*: where considering, that the passages on either side, for the Grisons and Germanie were stopt vp, by meanes of the Ambassadors of *Castille* and *Sanoy*, whereof they had good intelligence by Venetian gentlemen, who went out in quest thereof, and assisted them with their best counsell: they concluded, that they would depart the night following out of the citie, in the habites of religious conuerts from *S. Dominickes*, with an Italian father of the said monasterie, and embarking themselves in a Gundelot, passe thence to Chioazza, & from Chioazza straight to Ferrara: where they would stay for more companie to goe for Florence, and from thence to Liurne, and so to Marseilles. As it was said, so it was done.

The night being come, the King embarked himselfe in a gundelot, with the said Italian father: whose courage failed him, and not hauing the hardinesse to venture this iourney, left his maiestie in the gundelot, & returned to his monasterie. The father *de Sampayo* and Frier *Chrysostome* seeing this, concluded that of them two (because delaye caused danger) the Frier *Chrysostome* should accompanie him. So passed they on, even vntil it was night on the saterday, which was the 16. of December, the King hauing bin enlarged the night before, being the 15. of the same moneth. The day following being sunday, and the 17. the father doctour *de Sampayo*, came to the lodging of the Lord *Dom Christophero*, whither *Dom Iohn* and the other Portuguezes (being aduertised thereof) came verie soone after. They hearing by the father doctour, in what manner the King was departed, became extreemly afflicted in mind and verie pensue, suspecting immediatly some harme to ensue: for Frier *Chrysostom* was a verie bad man, of euil aspect, and too well knowne in Italie, and euerie where bruted, that he was at Venice soliciting the Kings deliuerie. All agreed, that I should away the verie same houre, to accompanie his Maiestie: so I embarked my selfe forthwith, and on the monday following, arriued at Chioazza, 25. miles from Venice, where I heard newes, that the King tooke another way (because he had intelligence, being refreshing himselfe on land, that there was a man of warre ariued, who made enquire after two religious persons,



sons, and had souldiers aboard sent from the Ambassadour of Castille) and so that they were gone by Padoa!

Hereupon I ship my selfe againe in hope to recouer them, which was impossible for me, by reason of the waters extremitie, but was constrained to returne to Venice. Here let me tell your Excellencie, that the night whereon the king was enlarged, there arose in Venice a verie great wind, which endured vntil midnight after the next day: wherein ensued such a mightie overflow of the waters in the citie, as it drowned vp great store of houses, and did harme to the amounting of aboute three millions. For all the cesternes were lost, also the wines, the spices, sugars and merchandises, that were in their lower warehouses. This inundation began (as I said) on tuesday at night the 19. of December, the day limited for the Kings departing from the confines of the Siegneurie, as likewise notwithstanding he did. A thing which bred a verie straunge amazement among the men in those parts, who held diuers opinions of this accident, and almost all assured themselves, that the presence of this holy King, was a wonderfull preservation to the citie.

All matters concerning this Prince, are accompanied with extraordinarie signes from heauen. One told me on the way, that the 28. of the moneth past, fell two such thunder claps at Florence, as haue shiuerd *la Copa* of the great Church, and almost an vnrecoverable losse. For it is said, the work can neuer be brought to the perfection wherein it was, in the iudgement of the best, if they would dispend thereon foure hundred thousand crownes: the first amounted to fixe hundred thousand; they that imagine the least, speake of two hundred thousand.

So soone as I was at Venice, came the letters of Frier *Chrysostome*, written from Padoa; wherein he signified, that the King would go thence by Ferrara, and from Ferrara to Florence, whereon, they all put themselves in readinesse to follow. And because manie report that the king trauelled continually like a Iacobine: I assure your Excellencie they deceiue themselves, for he left it off at his parting from Padoa, betaking himselfe to his Cape and rapier. Those letters made me take sea the same day, and making to Ferrara with all speede I could, at my arriual I heard the king was past. Thence I followed, and came to Florence the



first of Ianuarie, and going to seeke Frier *Chrysostome* at the monasterie of the Cisteaux, he told me, that the great Duke had made stay of our Lord the King, and as for himselfe, he had attended two daies about his deliuerie. I gaue notice hereof to the Lord *Dam Christophoro*, and the other Portuguezes, who were as yet on their way thither, and arrived there the 4. of the said moneth; where hauing first done some diligent indeuors towards the great Duke, they concluded vpon our separation. So the quarter of Holland being committed to me, as I signified to your Excellencie in the beginning hereof, I returned to Venice, where I would not shew my selfe, but from Venice past to Ausbourg, from Ausbourg to Noremberg to gaine Hamborough, which possibly I could not do by reason of the snowes. The theeues vpon the waies, and sundrie other discommodities much hindred me: which made me come to this citie of Heildelberg, where I haue visited the Countie *Palatine*, and the Countesse your faire sister. From hence I will goe into Lorraine, and thence passe into France: praying God to guide me with safetie to Paris, to the end I may speedily come to your Excellencie; whom the Lord prosper and keepe in his protection. From Heildelberg this twelfth of Februarie 1601. I leaue manie things vnwritten, which at large I will deliuer to your Excellencie, when I shall be so happie as to see you.

*The most humble and obedient seruant  
to your Excellencie.*

Pantaleon Pessoa de Neyua.

I Forgot to tel your Excellencie, that the king, not only during his imprisonment, was 27. times questioned by my Lords the Senators in common: but likewise by the iaylour, and also by his confessor in particular; by the warders and prisoners that were with him. To all whose interrogations, he euermore maintained & protested, that he was the true king of Portugal *D. Sebastião*: & instantly requested, that he might be confronted, by the marks & signes which were knowne he had naturally imprinted on his bodie. Iustifying withall, that he had a bodie of flesh and bones, and not of brasse, to graue anie supposed markes vpon it: praying he might be

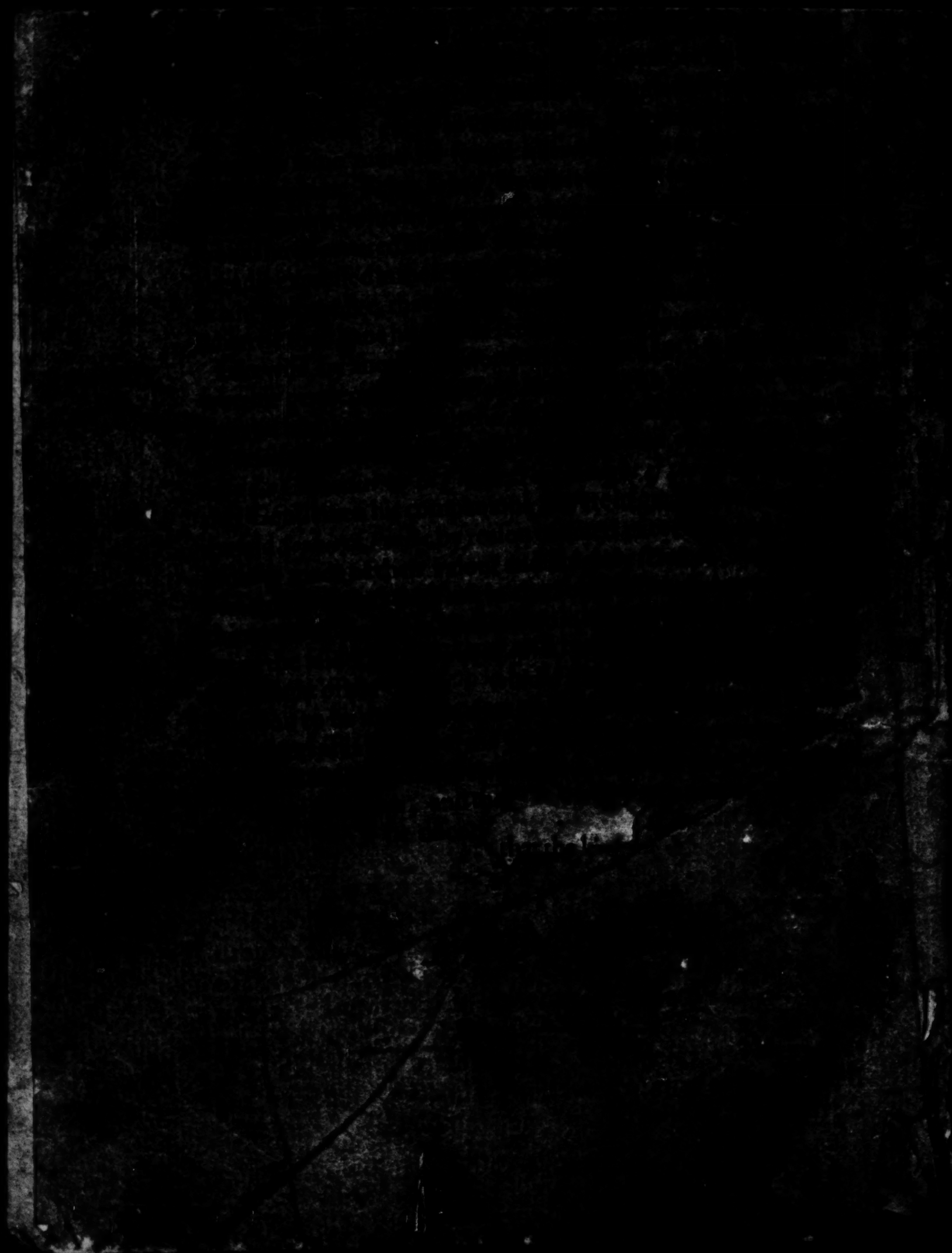


be seene of the Portuguezes, yea, and to strangers that had knowne him in Portugall or elsewhere, before he lost himselfe in the battaile of *Afficks*, all which they would not permit. At the beginning, he answered them still to verie good purpose, but in the end, seeing they would do him no such fauours as he desired, but only proceed with him in nothing but demands: being somewhat by nature impatient and cholericke, he much disdained to answere their interrogatories. Notwithstanding, being returned to the prison, and discoursing to the prisoners what demaunds they had made to him, he said: I answered here and there to such a demand, but I must answere such and such things. This is the report of such as haue bene deliuered out of the same prison wherein he was enclosed: and himselfe likewise told vs as much since then, from his owne mouth.

### *An addition of some importance.*

**I** Thought good to adde to the end of this worke, what hath bene deliuered to me by a personage of good credite, who heard it spoken by the mouth of the King *Dom Sebastian* himselfe, among other questions that were made to him: he being desired to reueale, whether he had bene kept as a captiue in Africa or no: made answer, that he was not taken nor stayed as a captiue or slaue; but hauing escaped from the battell by flight, though very sore wounded, and with him those that are mentioned in the last letter of *Friar Joseph Texere*, to the Bishop; to wit, the Duke d' *Albuquerque* of *Redondo* and *de la Sordella*, *D. Fernand de Albuquerque*, *John de Castro*, &c. who by the Kings aduice, did all secretly and strangely disguise themselves, that they could not be knowne to anie one: which being done, the King and they in the confused returne of the armie to Portugal, came back with them, where hauing bound the rest to him by a deare engaged oath, would none of them be seene or knowne, but prouiding themselves of such iewels and money as they could conueniently get, departed al againe from Portugal. Being vrged to expresse his reason for so doing, the King said: that his griefe and shame was so great, that by his folly and rash-







the Christians were discomfited, and suffered so mightie a  
losse to the hurt of all Christendome; therefore he would no  
more be grieved, but penitently wander through the world, with-  
out any intent: ever, to revivise his kingdome more; and  
the verie same mind he found likewise to be in his friends &  
sworne to him. Being asked, by what meanes he now remained  
without them (whom he avoucheth to be all living) and why he  
sooner he discovered himselfe: he answered, that he had some reason  
already expressed in the letter of *Dons Iohn de Castro*, his being  
in a hermitage, &c. that he will more at large satisfie this demand,  
when he shall have his person secured in some countrie.

Likewise, by another of worth to be believed, it is said that the  
worthie gentleman Sir *Anthony Sherley* (for his great valor & ser-  
vices) in high account with the *Sophie of Persia*, hath writtento an  
speciall friend of his; that a gallant gentleman, who named him-  
selfe *Le Chevalier de la Croix*; That Knight of the *Crosse*, with o-  
ther Gentlemen his companions, were in great reputation with  
the said *Sophie of Persia*, by reason of divers exceeding and singu-  
lar psones made of their valour and knightly services, which he  
performed against the Turk in the *Sophies* behalf. Agreeing  
the report of himselfe in Venice before his presentation in the let-  
ter of the said *Dons Iohn de Castro*, which he presented to the  
the Knight of the *Crosse*: which falling out, there is no  
question to be made, but though he had made there, as in all o-  
ther places, this Knight of the *Crosse* will plainly approve himselfe,  
as he did it is for certaintie received, to be the King of Portugal  
*Dons Iohn de Castro*, and the *Sophie* he requested; where  
he discovered that the li

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